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ROLE ORIENTATIONS AMONG TEACHERS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC AND SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUNDS WERE STUDIED. INVESTIGATION CENTERED ON (1) THE DISTINGUISHABLE PATTERNS OF ROLE ORIENTATION, AND (2) THE EFFECTS OF ETHNIC AND OTHER SOCIOCULTURAL VARIABLES UPON ROLE ORIENTATION. THE SAMPLE CONSISTED OF 106 SECONDARY TEACHERS, IDENTIFIED AS MEMBERS OF 1 OF 6 ETHNIC GROUPS (IRISH, POLISH, ITALIAN, NEGRO, JEWISH, OR OTHER). THE ETHNICITY (USED BY THE AUTHOR TO DENOTE THE CONSTELLATION OF CHARACTERISTIC GROUP ATTITUDES) OF THE SAMPLE WAS THE MAIN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE OF THE STUDY. AREAS IN WHICH ROLE ORIENTATIONS WERE ASSUMED TO VARY WERE DESIGNATED IN THREE DIMENSIONS--(1) TEACHING MOTIVES, (2) TEACHING STANDARDS, AND (3) TEACHING PERFORMANCE. STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH EACH TEACHER USING AN INTERVIEW GUIDE TO GATHER DATA FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS. A CODE SHEET WAS DEVELOPED FROM THE RESPONSES. ALL REPLIES WERE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ONE OF THE THREE ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES--(1) PROFESSIONAL, (2) NURTURANT, OR (3) INSTRUMENTAL. THE RESULTS INDICATED THAT TEACHERS FROM HIGHLY URBANIZED ETHNIC GROUPS EMPHASIZED COMPETENCE AND INTELLECTUAL SKILLS. TEACHERS FROM GROUPS NOT YET IN THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO DEVELOP THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT. ALSO, ETHNICITY WAS FOUND TO BE A PERVASIVE FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE ATTITUDES WITH WHICH TEACHERS APPROACH THEIR ROLE. (RS)

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HOW URBAN HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS VIEW THEIR JOB

Cooperative Research Project No. S-186

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Mildred Kornacker

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT AND BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

As our civilization grows more and more complex, we become more and more dependent upon our schools. With the growth and advancement of industrial society, education assumes an ever greater role on the American scene. The solutions to many social problems are sought through education. Education has come to be seen as an important instrument for social change.

Despite our widely professed faith in the importance of education, we have given little thought to one of the most important links in the educative process--the teacher. Dominating the learning activity and serving as a liaison between society and the children, the teacher is a crucial agent for the maintenance and creative change of our culture.

Robert J. Havighurst refers to the teacher in his socializing role as a "surrogate of the society" and the "key figure" in the educational system.

> It is the teacher's behavior in the classroom situation that must eventually be the focus of our attention if we are to understand how society, through its agent, the school, and in turn, the school, through the person of the classroom teacher, influences the lives of children. . . .[1]

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[1] Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957), p. 401.

It is especially the role of the teacher in the urban community that has become crucial, as the rapidly developing metropolitan areas unfold new school programs and educational services for our youth. In a recent study of urban education, M. J. Pillard referred to the role of the teacher as follows:

> The most crucial element on which success of educational programs ultimately depends is the school staff, the individuals who do the job. Even the most clearly articulated goals and the most carefully delineated programs are not self-actuating. These may be developed in large part by the community and its educational leaders, but their implementation depends upon the work of teachers. Thus, the classroom teachers and their associates, who daily face the challenge of guiding the youth toward a better life, become the center of attention in urban schools.[1]

Yet, we know little about our teachers, their aspirations, their experiences, or how they perceive their teaching role.

While there is a general, normative definition of behavior for persons occupying the position of teacher, expectations of that role are often diffuse and contradictory. The source of authority is not clearly defined; neither is there clarity as to what is to be valued or rewarded in the teaching role. The absence of a clearly defined behavioral pattern and authority structure for the teaching role permits many variations of behavior among persons performing such a role. Consequently, there are broad limits within which the teacher may perceive the nature of the teaching task.

The function of education may be viewed differently, resulting in differential educational commitment and behavior. Teachers may differ in the nature of the product they are seeking to achieve and in the methods to be used. Varying aspirations and goals concerning teaching may also have a bearing upon the performance of the teaching role. This set of attitudes toward specific role characteristics, attitudes indicating major commitment to the work situation, is here defined as role orientation.

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[1] Matthew J. Pillard, "Teachers for Urban Schools," *Education in Urban Society*, ed. B. J. Chandler, Lindley J. Stiles, and John I. Kitsuse (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1962), p. 193.

In recent years, the increasing demand for teachers and the relative ease with which the teacher's education could be secured resulted in the recruitment of men and women from many racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups into the teaching profession. We refer, for instance, to the many veterans who received their education under the G. I. Bill. Thus urban schools have been staffed with men and women from diverse subcultural backgrounds who bring to the teaching role different orientations and differing perceptions of how to carry out this role.

Cultural anthropologists and others have pointed out that individual experiences are "bounded by culture." Each racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic group has its own unique subcultural traits and behavioral patterns. Among these traits one finds differences in attitudes toward education and toward the role of the teacher.[1]

Some may place a high intrinsic value upon the content of education, with emphasis, for example, upon competence and intellectual skills. Others may value highly such extrinsic aspects of education as job opportunities and upward mobility, emphasizing utilitarian skills. Still others may value education for its furtherance of individual worth and humanitarian ideals, stressing social skills.

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[1] Havighurst, op. cit., p. 364. See also, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963), a study of minority groups in New York City.

These considerations suggest two major questions that are pertinent to the understanding of urban teachers: Can we distinguish differential patterns of role orientation among teachers? and, since today's urban teaching force is drawn from a wide variety of backgrounds, to what extent does this heterogenous teacher population manifest the effects of ethnic and socio-cultural differences in its orientations to the teaching role? These two questions constitute the area of inquiry for the present study.

Patterns of Role Orientation

Role orientation is defined here as the set of attitudes toward specific characteristics of the teaching role, attitudes indicating major commitment to the work situation.

The axes of variation in role orientation can be found, according to Talcott Parsons, ". . . in the motivational structure of the actor's orientation and in the cultural value standards which are built into his action orientation."[1]

Adapting Parsons' theoretical model, role orientations in this study was assumed to vary along the following three dimensions: (1) Teaching Motives: this includes the rewards and goals of individual teachers and their personal involvement in the work role;

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[1] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 88.

(2) Teaching Standards: attitudes concerning the function of education, the kind of product to be achieved, group loyalties and allegiance within the work situation, i.e., school administration, individual student, or professional group; (3) Teaching Performance: teacher-student relationships, effective teacher traits, student evaluation, type of student preferred, and classroom discipline.

Extensive preliminary work done with secondary teachers in the Chicago school system indicated systematic variations that would allow us to define tentatively three "ideal-typical" categories of role orientation. These ideal-types are based upon the three most frequently occurring categories of role orientation and are designated in this study as Professional, Nurturant, and Instrumental.[1]

It was anticipated that these three ideal-typical categories of role orientation would vary in the following manner:

I. Professional.--academically oriented, with strong emphasis upon a body of specialized knowledge; loyalty to profession.

Teaching Motives: rewards and goals would include intellectual growth and learning plus an opportunity to further develop academic expertise.

Teaching Standards: major concern with the cognitive domain of the work role, emphasis upon intellectual training and competence. Belief that education is a "good" in and of itself.

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[1] Since this study was written, Mitchell (1965) reported some findings based on a factor analysis of a questionnaire given to prospective teachers. Mitchell found that reasons given by the students for enrolling into teaching could be grouped into three categories: "child-oriented," "subject-oriented," and "practical." These empirically derived categories match our three "ideal-typical" categories of role orientation. James V. Mitchell, "Personality Characteristics Association with Motives for Entering Teaching," Phi Delta Kappan, June, 1965, p. 529.

Teaching Performance: goal is to produce a scholar. Belief that the teacher must assume a professional attitude in the classroom and that he must have a high level of knowledge and competence in the subject matter.

II. *Nurturant*.--child-centered, with "life-adjustment" orientation, loyalty to client (student).

Teaching Motives: rewards and goals include opportunity to "help" people and to do something "worthwhile."

Teaching Standards: concern mainly with the affective or socio-emotional aspect of the work role, the "total student." Belief that education should be considered a "good" in relation to the development of the individual student for his role in society.

Teaching Performance: goal is to produce a "socially-adjusted" and "well-rounded" individual. The teacher must have a close rapport with the student.

III. *Instrumental*.--utilitarian and organizational orientation, loyalty to employer (school).

Teaching Motives: rewards and goals include job security, social mobility, and status.

Teaching Standards: major concern is with the usage of education for material gain and social mobility. Little or no commitment to the concept of education.

Teaching Performance: goal is to produce the "average citizen," the "organizational man" who can find his niche in today's society. Belief that the ability to run an efficient, well-organized and disciplined classroom is the teacher's most important trait.

This study was therefore structured around questions which attempted to evaluate teachers' attitudes toward the above three dimensions along which role orientation was assumed to vary.

The literature contains a number of work-role typologies developed on other occupations, particularly in relation to nursing.[1]

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[1] Habenstein and Christ contrasted three types of nurses, Traditionalizers, Professionalizers, and Utilizers, describing some

The tentatively defined categories of role orientation developed in this study are in some respects similar to the three-fold typology used by Corwin in his study of the relationship of role conception to career aspirations among nurses, which he identified as Bureaucrat, Professional, and Service.[1]

There has been considerable research applying role theory to teaching. Getzels and Guba examined the incompatible and conflicting aspects of role expectations of the teacher in relation to the administrative or bureaucratic structure.[2] Bidwell explored the relationship between a teacher's perception of administrative role expectations and teaching satisfaction.[3] Wilson sought to define the set of tasks that constitute the teaching role.[4] Gordon examined the role of the teacher within the social structure of the high school.[5]

Mitchell, in his study of prospective teachers, sought for

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of the effects associated with these orientations.

Rodney White developed a typology aimed at predicting behavior of nurses in their work-role. Using the two dimensions, (a) orientation to social roles, and (b) nature of occupational involvement, he developed a four-fold typology which he called: Professionals, Humanitarians, Mobiles, and Sociables.

[1] Ronald Corwin, "Role Conception and Career Aspiration: A Study of Identity in Nursing," Sociological Quarterly, April, 1961.

[2] J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "The Structure of Roles and Role Conflict in the Teaching Situation," Journal of Educational Sociology, September, 1955.

[3] Charles Bidwell, "The Administrative Role and Satisfaction in Teaching," Journal of Educational Sociology, September, 1955.

[4] Bryan R. Wilson, "The Teachers' Role," The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (March, 1962).

[5] Wayne Gordon, The Role of the Teacher in the Social Structure of the High School.

relationships between basic personality characteristics and different motives for entering teaching. He identified three types of reasons for enrolling in a teacher preparation program as: "child oriented," "subject oriented," and oriented toward "practical" considerations.[1]

But there has been little exploration of possible relationships between early subcultural background of teachers, or their continued identification with a specific ethnic group, and orientation to the teaching role. Colombotos, in his study of professional orientation among high school teachers, did use a few early socialization variables such as the sex role, social class background, and religion. However, the community from which he drew his sample was a homogeneous, predominantly native-born white suburb.[2] There is no reference to a systematic study of the effects of ethnic characteristics upon the teacher's role orientation anywhere in the literature.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is here used in its broader sense to denote the constellation of attitudes characterizing any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin. "Ethnic" has been used by some in a more narrow sense to refer to a national origin group.[3]

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[1] Mitchell, op. cit.

[2] John L. Colombotos, Sources of Professionalism: A Study of High School Teachers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1962).

[3] See Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), ". . . the term ethnic refers to any individual who considers himself, or

The term is used in this study according to Oscar Handlin's reference to an ethnic group as a "group with a shared heritage," a heritage sometimes associated with "descent from common national and regional origins, sometimes with color, and sometimes with religion.[1] This usage parallels E. K. Francis' definition further developed by Milton Gordon when referring to an "ethnic group" as a group with a "shared feeling of peoplehood."[2] As Gordon points out:

> . . . there is a common social-psychological core to the categories "race," "religion," and "national origin"--the sense of peoplehood--and the term "ethnic group" is a useful one for designation of this common element.[3]

It might be objected that the emphasis on ethnicity pervading this study is misplaced. One may even doubt the fruitfulness of the concept itself. But the pluralistic aspect of American society and the influence of ethnic subcommunities is today being re-examined. According to some, the effects associated with the so-called "melting pot" did not actually occur. Yinger raises the question whether the minority groups in American society have been in fact assimilated into the total population, as had been predicted a generation ago. Although he would agree that extensive acculturation has taken place within the ethnic groups, he believes that assimilation and loss of

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is considered, to be a member of a group with a foreign culture and who participates in the activities of the group" p. 28.

[1] Oscar Handlin, "Ethnic Groups in American Life," Daedalus, XC (1961), 219.

[2] E. K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," The American Journal of Sociology, LII (July 1946-May, 1947), 393.

[3] Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 24.

group identity is doubtful.[1]

Gordon takes as his essential thesis the fact that the "sense of ethnicity has proved to be hardy." He strongly believes that ethnic subcultures have not perished but that they have survived in various forms and under different names.[2]

Glazer and Moynihan, in their study of ethnic groups in New York, also stress the theme that the ethnic group in American society has taken on a new social form. They argue that even after much of the language and customs are lost in the second and third generations, the individual is connected to his group by ties of family and friendship and that the ethnic subculture is constantly being recreated by new experiences in America.[3]

Differences in subcultural attitudes toward education, and the implications of these attitudes, have been explored in recent studies.[4] It has been pointed out that many of the ethnic groups brought with them markedly different orientations toward education.

Rosen, in his study of the relationship of ethnicity to achievement and social mobility, suggests that groups that came from small towns or urban environments are more likely to possess cultural values appropriate to achievement in American society than those who came from rural and peasant surroundings. This, he believes, has an important bearing on their orientation toward achievement and education. He notes, ". . . many Jews . . . had come from small towns or cities, while most of the Roman Catholic immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe (and Southern Negroes before their migration to the North) came from rural communities."[1] In comparing ethnic and racial differences in orientation towards education, Rosen states:

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[1] J. Milton Yinger, "Social Forces Involved in Group Identification or Withdrawal," Daedalus, XC (1961), 247.

[2] Gordon, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[3] Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[4] See Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962); Gordon, op. cit., and Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit.

> Traditionally, Jews have placed a very high value on educational and intellectual attainment; . . . for Southern Italians, school was an upper class institution, not an avenue for social advancement for their children, booklearning was remote from everyday experience, and intellectualism often regarded with distrust. . . . Negroes face the painfully apparent fact that positions open to educated Negroes are scarce. This fact means that most Negroes . . . do not consider high educational aspirations realistic.[2]

Strodtbeck *et al*., in their study of the bearing of Jewish and Italian cultural differences upon social mobility, state:

> . . . Eastern European Jews have been more consistently upward mobile in America than Southern Italians. . . . There is some evidence that Jews came to America with occupational skills better suited to urban living than those of Italians.[3]

In relating these cultural differences to education, they go on to say:

> The cultural tradition of veneration of rational control and learning in the Jewish religion has no parallel in the Catholic beliefs of Southern Italians; and, insofar as this tradition has been transformed into a greater respect and desire for higher

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[1] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," *Race, Class, and Power*, ed. Raymond W. Mack (New York: American Book Co., 1963), pp. 71-72.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 85-86.

[3] Fred L. Strodtbeck *et al*., "Evaluation of Occupations: A Reflection of Jewish and Italian Mobility Differences," *Race, Class, and Power*, p. 168.

> education in America, may suggest that, among Jews, there is an effective community organization that ethnic groups who have not previously faced the problem of adapting as a minority group did not develop.[1]

Thomas and Znaniecki, in their 1920 study of the Polish peasant in Europe and America, pointed to the resistance of peasant groups to intellectual pursuits and the sanctions placed against any member of the group who developed a positive appreciation of intellectual values. They state:

> The general unwillingness with which a conservative peasant group usually greets the appearance of intellectual interests in any one of its members can . . . best [be] explained by its aversion to individualization in any form. A man who reads in a non-reading community has interests which the community does not share, ideas which differ from those of others . . . he isolates himself in some measure from his environment, lives partly in a sphere which is inaccessible to theirs and what is worse--strange and unknown to them; thus, he in certain respects breaks away from social control. The situation is aggravated by the fact that learning has been associated with other social classes.
>
> . . . the conservative part of the group continues to look askance on the spread of instruction, for the latter seems to them to imply indefinite possibilities of change to threaten a partial or total dissolution of the traditional social system and thus arouses opposition from the standpoint of the desire for security.
>
> It is not strange, therefore, if an average member of a conservative peasant community, knowing what reaction to expect from his environment, is not easily induced to become a . . . "bookworm.". . . And even without social pressure there is not much in learning which appeals to his traditional attitudes enough to justify in his eyes the effort necessary for its acquisition. . . .[2]

They pointed out that the Polish immigrant who came to America came predominantly from the peasantry and often uneducated classes; the proportion of immigrants with higher education was always very small because America did not offer as great economic opportunities to this group as it did to the manual workers. And these Polish immigrants brought with them their lack of intellectual interests. They go on to state, however:

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Vol. IV: *Disorganization and Reorganization in Poland* (4 vols.; Boston: The Gorham Press, 1920), pp. 235-236.

> . . . the development of intellectual interests is closely connected with the breakdown of the isolation of the peasant-community. . . . The growing contact with the outside world develops in individuals a desire for new experience, and the paper or the book is revealed both as a partial substitute for real new experiences . . . and with the possibilities beyond the narrow circle of his primary-group life. . . . Both motives are particularly strong in young people where we find the tendency to education often asserting itself without an explicit encouragement. . . .[1]

There is some question as to the placing of the Negro in any ethnic groupings similar to that of the other national groups. Charles Silberman, in his recent study of Negro and white relations, questions the attempt by Handlin and others to equate the Negro migration with the European migration, stating:

> . . . the European ethnic groups . . . could move into the mainstream of American life without forcing any drastic rearrangements of attitudes or institutions. For the Negro to do so, however, will require the most radical changes in the whole structure of American society. . . .[2]

However, in the present study, the Negro people are referred to as an ethnic minority. Chandler, in his study on education in urban society, points out:

> . . . Negro people, isolated from the mainstream of the culture to such an extent that they tend to become ethnic, that is, develop patterns of behavior peculiar to the race. The treatment they receive tends to make minority races ethnic.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 236.

[2] Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 43.

[3] Chandler, op. cit., p. 55.

Because of the various influences ethnicity may have on the behavior of the teacher in the teaching role, ethnicity will be considered as the main independent variable of this study. The effects of ethnic identification upon the teacher's role orientation will be explored. Since the attitudes of teachers toward their occupational role may be a function of other early socialization experiences, such as religious or socioeconomic origins (parental or guardian), intergenerational mobility, urban-rural traditions, or perhaps their level or type of education, the relationship of these variables to the role orientation of the teacher are also examined.

Conceptual Framework

The general aim of this study is to seek greater understanding of the meaning that secondary teachers in an urban setting assign to their role as teachers, and of the classroom behavior they believe necessary to carry out this role.

Two major research questions guiding this study are:

1. Can differential patterns of role orientation be distinguished among teachers?
2. What are the effects of ethnic and socio-cultural variables upon the role orientation of teachers?

It is proposed here that systematic patterns of role orientation among teachers can be distinguished and that there is a relationship of subcultural differences to varying orientations to the teaching role. While teachers may modify or accommodate classroom performance to meet the needs of a given classroom situation, the performance will still flow from the basic attitude toward the teaching role.

The problem is approached through an analysis of the attitudes and experience of 106 teachers from Chicago high schools. The study is restricted to those teachers who have been permanently assigned in the Chicago school system and have not taught more than fifteen years. It is assumed that permanently assigned teachers display a greater commitment to the teaching role than temporarily assigned teachers.

In order to examine the relationship of ethnic differences to varying orientations to the teaching role, the study includes a balanced number of teachers from the following five ethnic groups: Irish, Polish, Italian, Negro, and Jewish. These five groups are believed to constitute the largest ethnic group of teachers within the Chicago high schools. A balance has also been maintained between male and female teachers, since the sex role may vary within the ethnic groups.

Plan of This Report

Chapter ii describes the community, the interview procedures and guide, responses to the interview, and the sample. The method of coding the responses to the fourteen questions included in the interview and the reliability of coding are also discussed in this chapter, together with the statistical methods use to analyze coded responses. Chapter iii analyzes the findings, seeking patterns of role orientation and ethnic relationships. Chapter iv examines the relationships of ethnicity and other early background characteristics to the teacher's role orientation. Chapter v presents conclusions, summary, and implications.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH SETTING, SAMPLE, AND INSTRUMENTATION

In the present chapter the main features of the community from which the sample was selected will be described, together with the sample itself and the interview procedure used to secure the answers. Furthermore, the chapter will outline the interview questions dealing with role orientation, the scoring and coding procedures, and the statistical methods used in this study.

The Community

The sample was drawn from the high schools in the Chicago public school system. Since the 1940's, the community has been undergoing radical changes in its socioeconomic and racial composition. As large numbers of middle-income white families have moved to the suburbs, there has been an influx of southern, working class Negroes into the city. This has resulted in a sharp increase in the ratio of lower socioeconomic strata and non-white population. It is estimated today that one out of every four Chicago residents is a Negro.

This changing population composition has created many new problems for the educational system. While this study was in progress, the Chicago public schools were undergoing an over-all survey by a committee headed by Robert J. Havighurst. In its final report, the survey committee points to the changing educational level of the people of Chicago, which is in proportion to its population changes. While the lower socioeconomic strata and non-white population have been increasing, the adult educational level has been dropping. By 1960 it had dropped below the national level.[1]

Within the Chicago public school system there are fifty-two general and vocational high schools with a current enrollment of approximately 145,000.[2] Serving the schools are 4,286 regularly assigned teachers with Chicago teaching certificates.[3] It was not possible to obtain an ethnic count of the high school teachers, but it is believed to be rather large among the five ethnic groups being studied here.

In order to meet the needs of its changing socioeconomic and racial population, most Chicago public high schools have established a "track" system of ability grouping. The track system varies from one school to the next, depending upon the achievement level of the school's population.

Description of the Sample

The sample consisted of 106 high school teachers from the Chicago school system. The sample was neither random nor representative but was obtained through the recommendations of other teachers.

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[1] Robert J. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey (Chicago: The Board of Education, 1964), pp. 21-22.

[2] Ibid., p. 203.

[3] Ibid., p. 415. (These figures are given by the Retirement Fund as cited in the Havighurst survey.)

The writer originally was given the names of a few teachers through friends and then asked each teacher interviewed to suggest new names. In order to broaden the base of the sample, the teachers were asked to recommend colleagues from an ethnic group other than their own. Some of the teachers recommended fellow union members, I.E.A. committee members, or members of city-wide committees in which they had participated.

An attempt was made to maintain a balance between the five ethnic groups since ethnicity was to be one of the important variables in this study. During the course of the interviews it was discovered that some of the teachers who had been identified as belonging to one of the prescribed ethnic groups were in fact members of an ethnic group not included in the study. These teachers were placed in a category referred to as "Other." Teachers from a mixed ethnic background without dominant identification were also placed in the "Other" category. The category "Other" constituted 10 per cent of the sample (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

ETHNIC GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE

Ethnic Group	Number	Percentage
Irish	20	19
Polish	18	17
Italian	19	18
Negro	20	19
Jewish	18	17
Other	11	10
Total	106	100

It was also necessary to have equal numbers of male and female subjects in our sample, on the assumption that the status and role of men and women may vary within the ethnic group studied. This in turn may affect a teacher's orientation toward the occupational role. Fifty-one per cent (54) of the teachers in the sample were male and 49 per cent (52) were female.[1] (See Tables 2 and 3.)

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

Sex	Number	Percentage
Male	54	51
Female	52	49
Total	106	100

TABLE 3

ETHNIC GROUP BY SEX (Percentage)

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total
Irish	10.3(11)[a]	8.5(9)	18.87(20)
Polish	6.6(7)	10.3(11)	16.98(18)
Italian	9.6(10)	8.5(9)	17.92(19)
Negro	9.3(10)	9.3(10)	18.87(20)
Jewish	10.3(11)	6.6(7)	16.98(18)
Other	4.6(5)	5.6(6)	10.38(11)
Total	51.0(54)	49.0(52)	100.00(106)

[a] Parenthetical numbers are numbers of teachers.

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[1] The Havighurst study quotes the Retirement Fund distribution by sex as male, 46 per cent, and female, 54 per cent (p. 415).

Religion

Fifty-four per cent of the teachers included in the sample were Catholic, 16 per cent were Jewish, and 16 per cent were Protestant. Since the majority of the Protestants were Negroes, it is questionable whether religion can be used as a meaningful variable in comparing the groups.[1] However, since the Catholics constitute more than half of the sample, comparisons can be made within the three Catholic groups, i.e., the Irish, Polish, and Italian teachers.

TABLE 4

RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION

Religion	Number	Percentage
Catholic	57	54
Protestant	17	16
Jewish	17	16
Other	3	3
None	9	8
No information	3	3

Generation American

Because of the unique history of the Negro people within our culture, the Negro teachers were not asked information about the length of their family's residence in the United States.

Excluding the Negro group, half of the sample were offspring of foreign-born parents; the other half were progeny of native-born parents. Five of the teachers were foreign-born.

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[1] Gerhard Lenski calls attention to the differences in the social heritage of Negro and white Protestant groups: ". . . for roughly the first two-thirds of its existence, Negro Protestantism was a religion of slaves in an agrarian setting. Currently it is becoming the religion of a depressed urban proletariat." The Religious Factor (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961), p. 318.

Father's and/or guardian's occupation

Since the parents of almost 50 per cent of the teachers were foreign-born, it was not possible to evaluate parental education meaningfully. Therefore, father's or guardian's occupation became the only means of determining the teachers' socioeconomic level of origin.

The occupation of the father or guardian was placed in one of six social class positions, according to a modified version of Warner's scale for rating occupation.[1] Because of the discrepancy between the occupation and class positions of the Negroes in our society as compared to the equivalent occupations held by whites, further modifications had to be made in rating Negro occupations.[2]

Table 5 shows that the majority of the sample (66 per cent) came from the lower-middle and upper-lower social class backgrounds. This is generally consistent with other research findings, despite variations in the locale and in the measurement of social class background.[3] There is also a similarity here with the socioeconomic backgrounds of high school teachers listed in the Chicago School Survey. According to the survey, 57 per cent of Chicago teachers came from the two categories designated as (B) clerical and small business, and (C) skilled work and foreman.[4] This similarity sug-

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[1] W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Bros., 1960), p. 139.

[2] See Appendix for occupational index.

[3] See the studies cited in Havighurst and Neugarten, op. cit., pp. 359-363.

[4] Havighurst, School Survey, p. 418.

TABLE 5

FATHER'S OR GUARDIAN'S OCCUPATION (Socioeconomic Status)

Class	Number	Percentage
Middle-lower	11	10
Upper-lower	41	40
Lower-middle	28	26
Middle-middle	19	17
Upper-middle	7	7
Total	106	100

TABLE 6

ETHNIC GROUPS BY FATHER'S OR GUARDIAN'S OCCUPATION (Percentage)

Ethnic Group	Socioeconomic Status				
	Middle-lower	Upper-lower	Lower-middle	Middle-middle	Upper-middle
Irish (20)	0.0(0)	45.0(9)	35.0(7)	10.0(2)	10.0(2)
Polish (18)	5.6(1)	66.7(12)	22.2(4)	0.0(0)	5.6(1)
Italian (19)	31.6(6)	31.5(6)	21.0(4)	15.8(3)	0.0(0)
Negro (20)	15.0(3)	15.0(3)	35.0(7)	30.0(6)	5.0(1)
Jewish (18)	0.0(0)	55.6(10)	0.0(0)	44.4(8)	0.0(0)
Other (11)	9.0(1)	9.0(1)	27.3(3)	27.3(3)	27.3(3)
Total (106)	(11)	(41)	(25)	(22)	(7)

gests that the sample in this study is not significantly different from the socioeconomic backgrounds of the teachers generally in the Chicago high schools.

Subject taught

The sample was divided between the three major areas: Humanities, social studies, and mathematics and sciences see Table 7). The ethnic groups varied in subject matter taught (see Table 8). The majority of Irish, Polish and Negro teachers taught English, the Jewish group predominantly taught social studies, and the Italian teachers taught mathematics and science.

TABLE 7

SUBJECT MATTER TAUGHT BY TEACHERS

Subject Matter	Number	Percentage
Humanities (English and languages)	37	34
Social studies (history)	29	37
Mathematics/sciences (biological and physical	36	34
Other	4	4
Total	106	100

TABLE 8

ETHNIC GROUPS BY SUBJECT MATTER TAUGHT (Percentage)

Ethnic Group	English - Languages	History--Social Studies	Mathematics Biological and Physical Sciences	Total
Irish	50.0(10)	25.0(5)	25.0(5)	(20)
Polish	50.0(9)	5.6(1)	44.0(8)	(18)
Italian	21.0(4)	15.8(3)	63.1(12)	(19)
Negro	45.0(9)	15.0(3)	30.0(6)	(18)
Jewish	16.7(3)	61.1(11)	22.2(4)	(18)
Other	(2)	(6)	(1)	(9)
Total[a]	34.4(37)	27.3(29)	33.9(36)	(102)[b]

[a] Percentage figures in total line represent percentage of total number of teachers.

[b] Four of the teachers who taught subject matter other than the major areas described here were not included.

Teaching experience

Sixty-four per cent of the teachers have been teaching five years or less. Therefore, this sample reflects the attitudes and experiences of the "younger" teacher (see Tables 9 and 10).

TABLE 9

LENGTH OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Experience	Number	Percentage
Less than 2 years	18	17
2- 5 years	50	47
6-10 years	35	32
11-15 years	3	3
Total	106	

TABLE 10

ETHNIC GROUPS BY LENGTH OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE (Percentage)

Ethnic Group	Less Than 2 Years	2-5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years
Irish	15.0(3)	50.0(10)	35.0(7)	0.0(0)
Polish	22.2(4)	50.0(9)	27.8(5)	0.0(0)
Italian	10.5(2)	52.6(10)	36.8(7)	0.0(0)
Negro	25.0(5)	50.0(10)	20.0(4)	5.0(1)
Jewish	16.7(3)	27.8(5)	44.4(8)	11.1(2)
Other	9.1(1)	54.6(6)	36.3(4)	0.0(0)
Total	(18)	(50)	(35)	(3)

Education

More than half of the teachers had received M.A. degrees, and some had gone on to do further graduate work (see Table 11). The ethnic groups differed in their level of education (see Table 12).

TABLE 11

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED BY SAMPLE

Level	Number	Percentage
B.A.-B.S.	29	27
B.A. plus	19	18
M.A.-M.S.	32	30
M.A. plus	26	25
Other	0	0
Total	106	100

TABLE 12

ETHNIC GROUPS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED
(Percentage)

Ethnic Group	B.A.-B.S.	B.A. Plus	M.A.-M.S.	M.A. Plus
Irish	25.0(5)	40.0(8)	35.0(7)	0.0(0)
Polish	33.3(6)	5.5(1)	44.4(8)	16.7(3)
Italian	26.3(5)	10.5(2)	36.8(7)	26.3(5)
Negro	45.0(9)	25.0(5)	25.0(5)	5.0(1)
Jewish	16.7(3)	11.1(2)	11.1(2)	61.1(11)
Other	9.1(1)	9.1(1)	27.3(3)	54.5(6)
Total	(20)	(19)	(32)	(26)

The respondents had received their teacher preparation and training largely in the liberal arts colleges in the Chicago area. However, 40 per cent of the Negro teachers had received their entire education in the South.

The majority of the teachers had received their secondary education in public high schools; however, 33 per cent of the respondents in the sample were graduates of Catholic high schools.

Objective and subjective intergenerational mobility

Objective generational mobility was measured by comparing the father's or guardian's occupation at the time the teacher was growing up with the teacher's present socioeconomic status, which in the present study was ranked as middle-middle. According to this criterion of mobility, 76 per cent had been upward mobile, which 7 per cent had moved downward. Seventeen per cent of the teachers had made no change in their socioeconomic position.

Subjective intergeneration mobility was measured by comparing the respondent's view of his own social class membership with his classification of the social class position of his parents or guardian at the time respondent was growing up. By the subjective mobility measurement, only 61 per cent believed they had achieved upward mobility, while 8 per cent claimed they had moved downward. Thirty-one per cent of the teachers were of the opinion that there had been no change.

The differences between the objective and subjective intergenerational mobility measurements could be accounted for by the various ways in which each ethnic group views social status. Not all of the groups evaluate a particular occupation on the same status level. An Irish tavern owner, for example, cannot be compared with a Greek or Italian restaurant owner; the occupations have different meanings within the various groups. These subtle variations could not be taken into account in the objective occupational codings. Another possible explanation for the diversity in the objective and subjective mobility percentages could stem from the views that teachers held on occupational status. Some of the respondents claimed that their early origins were middle class although the objective factors which were indicated in the course of the interview did not confirm this.

It must be recognized that the nature of the sampling method and the small size of the population of this study may not allow for our generalizations to be applicable to all the teachers in the Chicago school system. The deliberate selection of interviewees by a priori standards also limits reliability. Therefore, this study can only serve to indicate certain trends or patterns.

Interview Procedure and Guide

Focused interviews were held with 106 high school teachers from twenty-six Chicago schools. An appointment was made for each interview. Of the interviews, seventy-nine took place in the home of the teacher, twenty-four at the teacher's school and three at either the interviewer's home or office. All but two of the interviews were conducted by the writer.

Each interview took approximately one and one-half to two hours. Immediately upon returning from the interview, tape transcripts were made from notes taken during the interview. To preserve the anonymity guaranteed to interviewees, all names of individuals and schools were deleted so as to make identification impossible. A cross file was kept of the name, address, and subject matter of each teacher. Each interviewee was given a code number. All respondents will be referred to by these code numbers.[1]

During the course of the study, it was found that only one interview per day could be made. Otherwise, the mood of one interview would be carried over into the next.

The home interviews were more fruitful than those that took place in the school. The teacher in his own environment spoke more as an individual than as part of the school system. As a result, the respondents were more relaxed and often more outspoken in their opinions. Another advantage of the home interview was the informal period immediately following the interview. Over a cup of coffee or some food, the teachers would expand on their previous comments and at times raise new points that were helpful in gaining insight into the teacher's approach to his teaching role. The disadvantage of the home interview was the fact that often a mother or wife would sit in on the interview. In only one instance did a wife interfere. She was a counselor at the same school in which her husband taught. She raised several objections to some of his replies. It became necessary to point out to her that a counselor and a teacher often view the same question differently and that it was the teacher's point of view that was being investigated in this study. With this explanation, she retired from the room. Most of the interviews obtained at the teacher's school were usually after school hours. A few, however, took place during the school day. The corridors and lunchrooms were used. Such interviews were often interrupted and had to be resumed over several days.

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[1] A description of each of the 106 interviewees, keyed to these code numbers, appears in the Appendix.

The interview was usually started by emphasizing that this was not a part of the Havighurst School Survey but a private study seeking expressions from the teachers about their teaching job and educational experiences. No further explanation was necessary. In some instances, the teachers took the initiative in starting the interview by immediately beginning to express their opinions. If they would touch upon areas of interest to this study, they were encouraged to continue, but if they were going in a direction not relevant to this investigation, the interviewer would interject a question that would help direct the discussion back to the type of data relevant to the study.

In order to gather comparative data, an interview guide was used.[1] The first part of the interview inquired into the socio-cultural characteristics of the teacher. In particular the ethnic and religious identifications, both past and present, were queried. In addition, data concerning socioeconomic and geographical origins and educational background were also sought.

The second part of the interview consisted of fourteen specific questions. In order to encourage a more elaborate response, the majority of these were "open-ended." A few were "alternate choice." These fourteen questions were centered around the three dimensions of role orientation to be explored in this study, i.e., Teaching Motives, Teaching Standards, and Teaching Performance.

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[1] A copy of the "Interview Guide" used for the interviews can be found in the Appendix.

The questions were not always asked in identical order. In some instances, respondents would answer several questions in the process of explaining the reasons for their replies to one question. Or, some teachers would talk on at great length and in the process would comment on several points even before they were questioned. However, in order to facilitate the coding, the interviews were transcribed according to the sequence of the interview guide.

At the completion of each interview, the respondent was asked for the names of other teachers. In an effort to widen the scope of the sample, it was suggested that they choose teachers from ethnic groups other than their own. The only teachers contacted were those who conformed to the requirements of this study.

Interview Responses

The response of the teachers was cooperative, even enthusiastic. Of all the teachers who were approached only two refused to participate in the study. One was a young Italian girl who simply refused outright, giving no reason; the other was a Negro man who stated he had a large family and three jobs and could not take the necessary time. In most instances, the teachers were extremely cooperative, not only in giving their time for the interview, but in going over their school lists and recommending teachers and finding telephone numbers for further interviews.[1]

In every home the interviewer was offered food and drink, many of the responsdents serving ethnic delicacies ranging from Greek baklava to Irish whiskey. A number of homes reflected the old world atmosphere. Others contained many religious symbols. Teachers from lower socioeconomic backgrounds did not hesitate or seem ashamed to speak of their early origins. They displayed an attitude of pride in their progress.

While it had been anticipated that there would be less difficulty than Howard Becker had encountered in 1951 when he interviewed Chicago school teachers and found them fearful and defensive in discussing anything related to the school, the interest displayed today by the teachers came as quite a surprise.[2] Teachers appeared to be anxious to talk and were quite outspoken in their expressions and concerns about the school and the educational system.

This changed attitude on the part of the teachers reflects many of the social changes in attitudes toward education today. It may also be a reflection of the changed attitude on the part of the younger teachers. As Havighurst points out, in introducing his report on the Chicago schools:

> This is a time of change in public education more fundamental and widespread than the changes in any other period during the twentieth century. In such a time it is inevitable that there should be much searching inquiry into the educational system of the country.[3]

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[1] The supplying of telephone numbers was extremely helpful since the majority of the teachers had unlisted numbers.

[2] Howard Becker, Role and Career Problems of the Chicago Public School Teacher (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[3] Havighurst, op. cit., p. 1.

An important factor in the attitudes of the teachers was the school survey being conducted at this time. This helped to produce a milieu receptive to inquiry and questioning. But it was apparent that the teachers were feeling the same educational and social pressures that had brought about a need for the school survey. The teachers, who are functioning in the midst of the social changes taking place, who are grappling with the problems on a day-to-day basis, and who are being forced to find individual solutions to social problems, are anxious to be heard. Many of them feel they have much to contribute to the "searching inquiry" going on today.

Although they were specifically told that this study was not a part of the Havighurst survey, that it was an individual study being supported by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, they seemed to be eager to participate and thus be a part of the study. As one teacher expressed it, "This interview gives me hope. It indicates that there is still a scholarly world out there that is trying to help us out of the maze we are in. . . ." Again and again, the interviewer was thanked by the teachers for the interview. They seemed grateful for a chance to be heard and to express their thoughts and ideas. As one female Jewish teacher at a Negro middle-class school stated in speaking of an "essentials" class:

> I consider myself a good teacher, but with the essentials and basic class I've been sort of groping. I'm not at all happy with what I'm doing. There's really no program for them, and I've been quite insecure in my performance. There's no guideline. I resent the fact that I should have to be in such a situation, and frankly, I'm worried about these kids [No. 60].

One young Negro woman started out the interview by saying:

> I want you to know I took time out of a very busy weekend to talk to you because I felt someone should know what is going on at our school. The violence and stabbing between the students, not the teachers but the students, is getting worse every day. In my opinion, this is taking place because of the weak position taken by the principal. We are now on our third principal in two years. The others were moved up to supervisory positions, I believe. The last two were Negroes, the first one was white. In every instance, the principal did not want to come to grips with the violence of the students. He might be blamed and that would stand in the way of his promotion. So it was better to ignore it and leave it up to the next principal. . . . Since the students recognize the changing and weak administration, they feel there is no control over them, and they are getting out of hand. The climate is one of fear and intimidation, particularly of those students who want to learn. I don't know how anyone can learn in such a climate.
>
> These students have so many problems--home problems, personal problems, school problems. In many instances, there is no authority that they respect. And here at the school, this carries out exactly what's been happening in their home. In the past two years, I've had two students who tried to commit suicide. One was an honor student who had won a scholarship, but she found herself pregnant and no one was aware of it for five months. And then, when she couldn't conceal it any longer, she tried suicide. I had another student, just a few months ago; I was having some problems with her and I asked her mother to come into the school. I didn't know that her mother had just come out of a mental institution. This child was trying to conceal it, so while the mother came to the school, the child took pills at home in an attempt to commit suicide. I felt almost responsible here and have been involved with the whole situation ever since. You can't help but become involved, and you can't help but stay involved. Well, I just wanted to get that off my chest. No one has ever wanted to listen to this before. Now, we can get down to the questions that you want to ask [No. 32].

One male Jewish teacher, after thanking the interviewer for coming out to interview him, said, "I feel a lot better after talking about some of these things. I've been feeling so discouraged and alone, like crying out in the wilderness. I think it's a shame the kind of education we're giving our kids. We're educating a bunch of common, mediocre people. That's all that can come out of such an educational system and no one seems to be interested." This teacher was particularly concerned about evaluation and failures. As he put it:

> My biggest gripe is the passing of kids that should not pass. There should be some way of denoting failure, other than grades. . . . I was warned last semester if I continued to fail so many students, I stood a strong chance of not getting a summer assignment. I was told that if I flunked fifteen students out of a hundred, that I was only being 85 per cent effective as a teacher. . . . I've been called in to the district superintendent and told that 10 per cent was the maximum. The last time I was in the principal's office, I saw a letter on his desk from the district superintendent stating that it was now a 6 per cent maximum of failures per teacher. I was specifically told that I was not considered a good teacher because of my high failures. After he threatened to take away my summer teaching, I decided I was going to become a "good" teacher and not fail any kids. I need that money badly to support my family, so this last semester I failed only one student and that made me 99.9 "good" as a teacher. So now I am passing kids who can't read, write, or even talk. I have three honors classes. In many instances, the students can't read or write. Last semester we gave a high school diploma to a kid that has not been able to pass the Army's I.Q. test [No. 22].

Not all teachers were disturbed about the school and the conditions. Some were simply anxious to talk about their experiences and experimentations in the classroom and about some of their minor successes in meeting the problems. Others were anxious to speak of their changed status and prestige position. For example, a young Negro woman who had been a Southern sharecropper's daughter took great pride in describing the difficult problems and situations she had to overcome in order to become a teacher. She went into great detail in describing her early background. Or, a young Irish boy who, after describing his changed socioeconomic conditions, exclaimed:

> When I was a child, I never thought I could do some of the things I'm able to do now. Just going downtown to see a play--I never dreamed that I could do these things. And just think, this summer I'm going to take a trip to Europe [No. 83].

Or the young Polish girl who said, "I still have to pinch myself when I'm standing in front of that classroom to realize that

I'm the teacher and not the student" (No. 46). One young Italian boy confessed at the end of the interview:

> The real reason I wanted to be interviewed was because I want to continue with my education and I was hoping you might give me some ideas as to the best avenue for doing this [No. 43].

One male Jewish teacher, in explaining why he was planning to leave high school teaching, stated:

> I can't stand the atmosphere of the high school, particularly the administration. . . . They inspire in me only resentment. They won't let me teach. I am constantly interrupted by all the paperwork. I have to stop the class to take care of polio shots, PTA, CTA cards, Red Cross, booster club, Community Fund, newspaper, Children's Aid, Christmas fund, etc. I once sat down and listed twenty-six of these stupid little tasks that we have to take care of. A few weeks ago I figured out that on hall guard duty and lunch room duty alone, I spend two hours a day, or 400 hours a year. If only one-half of the teachers had these same duties, that would mean that four million hours are being taken away from teaching every year. There is no reason why I should have to stand and watch a kid eat, walk down the hall, and even go to the toilet. Why don't they get the student teachers--or maybe the policewomen--to do this? I've had a good college education, I love my subject and understand it, I consider myself a professional person. It should not be my obligation to watch toilets. I have offered to take an extra class in place of these duties, but I was told it was against regulations [No. 8].

A twenty-one year old Negro girl in her second year of teaching made these unsolicited remarks at the end of the interview:

> I tried to think through the questions you asked and have tried to be honest. I tried to give you not what I think you think is the "right" answer, but I have searched myself and tried to tell you what I really felt were the truly honest ways I think about these things [No. 40].

It became apparent throughout the interviews that the teachers had no institutional form for discussing their work or their experiences or for expressing their problems. A few of the teachers were experimenting with new approaches and at times achieved minor successes, but there was no avenue for recognition, reward, or even a discussion around their efforts. Some of the teachers brought out their tests and a few even showed their elaborate programs of study during the course of the interview, displaying an almost pathetic eagerness and excitement at having found someone interested anough to look at them. Many with common problems had no avenue for a group discussion of these problems, again and again the teachers pointed out, "The administration takes the position if the teacher has problems it is a reflection of her own personal inadequacies." As a result, one did not speak of one's problems at the school. Each teacher was attempting to resolve the problems in an isolated manner but, unfortunately, many of the problems could not be resolved on an individual basis.

Scoring and Coding Procedures

A code sheet was developed from the responses, listing all the answers given to each of the fourteen questions. The variety of replies to each question ranged from four to twenty-two, depending upon the question or upon how the question was posed. An "open-ended" question, such as, "What do you believe to be the most important ingredient for 'good' classroom discipline?" elicited twenty-two different responses. A question posed in this manner: "To whom does a teacher owe first loyalty, (1) school-administration-principal, (2) his professional principles and colleagues, (3) his students?" brought four different responses--some chose "self" rather than any of the categories mentioned, while the majority who chose professional principles did not want to include colleagues. Some questions, although "open-ended," brought a limited response, e.g., "In your classroom performance, whose approval do you believe to be the most important?" This question brought only four different kinds of responses: self, administration, student, and professional group. This code sheet, which included all the answers to each of the fourteen questions, was then systematically classified according to the criteria tentatively established for the three "ideal-type" orientation categories, i.e., (I) Professional, (II) Nurturant, (III) Instrumental.[1]

In most instances, the answers clearly fell in one or the other category. However, some of the teachers combined two of the categories in their reply to a few questions; e.g., to the question, "What do you believe is the major function or job of the Chicago high schools?" the teachers with a Professional role orientation replied "academic background, ability to think, reason, be well informed." The Nurturant teacher stressed "the needs of the individual child, the need to prepare him for his role in life," while the Instrumental emphasized "good citizenship and job training." A fourth group of replies claimed that one had to separate the students and that some should receive a good academic background while others should be trained to get a job. Therefore, it became necessary to establish a fourth role orientation category designated as "Other." Included in this category were all responses that could not be placed in the three "ideal-type" orientation categories. There is a question whether these responses are simply unclassifiable residual answers or whether they indicate the possible presence of new ideal types of role orientation. The small number of such responses seems to point to the first alternative. The issue represented by answers falling into this fourth category will be discussed later in this report.

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[1] The code sheet listing all the answers to each of the fourteen questions and the systematic categorization of these answers according to the tentatively defined role orientation categories, i.e., Professional, Nurturant, and Instrumental, can be found in the Appendix.

Reliability Check of Coding

In order to check the reliability of the coding procedure, ten interviews were chosen at random and sent to an independent reader to be coded. The reader had to match the interview responses with its corresponding entry on the "enlarged" code sheet of responses. In addition, the reader was asked to place each answer into a role-orientation category as defined in this study.

Since there were ten interviews with fourteen questions per interview, there were 140 separate judgments to be made. The results of the reliability check are tabulated in Table 13.

Of the 140 judgments, there was outright agreement 69 per cent of the time between the actual answer and its coding, while 22 per cent of the time the reader did not match the identical answer and code but agreed with the placement into the role-orientation category or, in a few instances, the reader was undecided and made two choices, one of which was in agreement. Therefore, 90 per cent of the reader's judgments were in agreement with the interviewer's coding of the replies, while 10 per cent were in disagreement.

In no one interview were there more than three judgments in disagreement, so that the fourteen items of disagreement were spread

TABLE 13

RELIABILITY CHECK OF CODING PROCEDURE
(Number and Percentage Agreement-Disagreement between Two Scorers)

	Number	Percentage
Agreement		
Same response and code	96	69
Response not identical but in same ROC category	28	20
Second choice	2	1
Disagreement		
Response in different ROC category	14	10
Total	140	100

over the entire range of the ten interviews. An analysis was made of each question to determine if the disagreement centered around one particular question; here, too, it was found that the fourteen items in disagreement ranged fairly evenly over all the questions.

On all questions showing disagreement, the two raters met to resolve the differences involved. In the few instances where there were substantive reasons for a lack of agreement a third rater was asked for consultation, and in all cases a consensus was finally achieved.

The role-orientation variables collected by means of the interviews were coded and transferred to IBM cards.

Tabulation of Data and Statistical Methods Used

In order to determine the consistency with which a teacher would tend to respond in the same category throughout the interview (our first research question), the following tabulation was devised to organize the data.

1. If the responses of a teacher to the fourteen questions used to determine role orientation were scored in the _same_ category more than half of the time (that is, seven or more answers fell in one of the three role-orientation categories), the teacher was assumed to orient himself primarily to that role. If the responses of the teacher were distributed over several categories and did not fall seven or more times in any one role-orientation category, it was assumed that the teacher could not be identified with a dominant role orientation.

No teacher was expected to be so strongly identified with one role orientation that all of his answers could be scored in only one category. But if the three hypothesized attitudes toward the teaching role are in effect genuinely important variables of behavior, they should result in dominant clusterings of answers around one particular category of response. So if a teacher's main approach to his work-role is along the _Nurturant_ orientation, we would expect that a majority of his answers would fall into that category.

The method of determining role orientation, outlined above, is by no means a rigorous one. It is felt, however, that such a tabulation would adequately reflect a teacher's primary role orientation.

2. _Analysis of variance_.--Mean scores were computed to determine the average number of responses given in the four role-orientation categories by each of the ethnic groups. An analysis of variance was performed on these data to determine if the variance in responses across categories was significantly larger _between_ ethnic groups than _within_ ethnic groups. If a significant "F" value were to be found as

a result of this test, it could be assumed that ethnic origin is in fact related to the teacher's role orientation. The analysis of variance is here used only as a general indicator for the relevance of ethnicity as an independent variable.

3. Chi-square and cross-tabulations.--This method of analysis was used to determine whether for each of the questions the responses given by subjects in the various ethnic groups fell into different role-orientation categories beyond chance expectations. With this technique, it was possible to examine both the over-all response pattern of the teachers to the fourteen questions and, also, the answers of the sample to each separate dimension of role orientation. Cross-tabular analysis was also made between role-orientation and other socio-cultural variables.

The numbers reported in the cells of the cross-tabulation tables are percentages of the actual distribution, but the chi-square values are computed on the observed count on which the percentages are based. A probability value of .05 or less was considered significant. In some cases, non-significant findings were used to explain a relationship that was found in another table, or to "suggest" a trend.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Patterns of Role Orientation and Ethnic Relationships

Patterns of role orientation

In line with the goal of better understanding occupational attitudes among urban high school teachers, the first question to be raised by this study was: Can we distinguish differential patterns of role orientation among teachers?

To answer this question, the following procedure--more fully explained in the previous chapter--was adopted: when seven of the fourteen answers given by a teacher fell into the same category, he was assumed to identify primarily with the role orientation measured by that category.

In tabulating the replies on the basis of the above criteria, it was found that 82 per cent (87) of the teachers had answered seven or more times in the same category, and therefore could be identified with a given category. Some had answered as many as twelve or thirteen questions in the same category (see Table 14). Only 18 per cent of the teachers could not be identified with any one specific category because they had not answered seven or more questions in any one role-orientation category.

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF TEACHERS ANSWERING SEVEN OR MORE QUESTIONS IN THE SAME ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORY

Number of Replies in a Given Category	Role-Orientation Category		
	I	II	III
14	0	0	0
13	1	0	0
12	2	3	0
11	7	4	2
10	3	3	2
9	7	10	0
8	8	8	2
7	14	10	1
Total	42(39.6%)	38(35.8%)	7(6.6%)

There was a definite tendency for the responses of each teacher to cluster heavily in a single category, rather than spread across the three categories. This seems to indicate that the individual teachers do in fact tend to be primarily identified with only one of the three categories. Later in the study, a more detailed thematic analysis of the variations will be presented, in order to determine differences within the dimensions of role orientation.

Relationship of Ethnicity to Variations in Role Orientation

The second major question of this study is concerned with the relationship between ethnic origin and the role orientation of the teacher. Specifically it asks: What are the effects of ethnic and socio-cultural variables upon the role orientations of teachers?

Three approaches were used to answer this question. First, the relationship between ethnic origin and a particular role orientation was to be explored by analysis of variance. This step would indicate whether responses within an ethnic group tend to be more homogeneous than responses across ethnic groups. Another approach to the same question consists in presenting the incidence of identification with a particular role-orientation category in the different ethnic groups. Finally, a more detailed thematic analysis of the dimensions along which role orientation is assumed to vary will be presented. This step was carried out by a cross-tabulation of responses to each of the fourteen questions, followed by excerpts illustrating typical examples of different attitudes toward the teaching role.

Analysis of Variance

An analysis of variance was performed on the mean number of responses given in each response category to determine if the variance across categories was significantly larger between ethnic groups than within ethnic groups (see Tables 15, 16, 17, 18). As the four tables indicate, the main effects of the respondent's ethnic origin are manifested in answers to role-orientation categories I and III. Apparently, the variation in Nurturant responses within each ethnic group was too large to allow for a significant between-group effect to appear. However, membership in a given ethnic group does seem to be quite significantly related to the Professional orientation of the teachers, and, to a lesser degree, to the Instrumental orientation as well. The results in the foregoing analysis were considered to be an indication that, in fact, a relationship does exist between ethnic origin and some categories of role orientation,

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE--RESPONSES BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORY I (PROFESSIONAL)

Ethnic Group	Mean Number of Responses
Irish	6.8
Polish	5.8
Italian	4.7
Negro	3.7
Jewish	8.1
Other	4.0

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F Ratio
Between groups	258.6	5	51.9	6.36[a]
Within groups	815.8	100	8.2	

[a] P =< .001.

TABLE 16

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE--RESPONSES BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORY II (NURTURANT)

Ethnic Group	Mean Number of Responses
Irish	4.6
Polish	5.8
Italian	6.4
Negro	6.1
Jewish	4.7
Other	6.5

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F Ratio
Between groups	64.3	5	12.9	1.65[a]
Within groups	781.0	100	7.8	

[a] Not significant.

TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE--RESPONSES BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORY III (INSTRUMENTAL)

Ethnic Group	Mean Number of Responses
Irish	2.1
Polish	2.2
Italian	2.8
Negro	3.8
Jewish	1.0
Other	3.0

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F Ratio
Between groups	82.9	5	16.5	3.62[a]
Within groups	457.5	100	4.5	

[a] p = .01.

TABLE 18

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE--RESPONSES BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORY IV (OTHER)

Ethnic Group	Mean Number of Responses
Irish	.6
Polish	.2
Italian	.1
Negro	.5
Jewish	.2
Other	.3

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F Ratio
Between groups	2.6	5	0.5	1.62[a]
Within groups	32.5	100	0.3	

[a] Not significant.

and that, further, more detailed analysis in specific response areas would be fruitful.

Primary Ethnic Role Identification

According to our previous outline, the next step in the analysis consists in tabulating the frequency of teachers in the various ethnic groups who identify primarily with one of the three role-orientation categories (see Table 19).

TABLE 19

PRIMARY ROLE IDENTIFICATION
(On the Basis of Having Selected Seven or More Questions in a Given Role-Orientation Category)

Ethnic Group	Role Orientation Category			Total
	I	II	III	
Irish	50.0(10)	25.0(5)	0.0(0)	(15)
Polish	44.4(8)	27.7(5)	11.1(2)	(15)
Italian	31.5(6)	47.3(9)	5.2(1)	(16)
Negro	15.0(3)	45.0(9)	15.0(3)	(15)
Jewish	72.2(13)	27.8(5)	0.0(0)	(18)
Other	18.2(2)	45.4(5)	9.1(1)	(8)
Total	39.6[a](42)	35.8[a](38)	6.6[a](7)	82.0(87)[b]

[a] Column percentage.

[b] Eighteen per cent (19) did not identify with a primary role orientation, i.e., did not select seven or more questions in any one category.

As shown in Table 13, the modal role orientation of Irish, Polish, and Jewish teachers seems to be a Professional one. By contrast, the highest incidence of role orientation for Italian and

Negro teachers appears in the Nurturant category.

The Jewish teachers were the most numerous in the Professional Category I, with 72 per cent of the respondents falling in that category, and the Negroes were the least frequent, with 15 per cent. In the Nurturant Category II, the Italians were highest with 47 per cent, and the Negroes were next with 44 per cent. None of the ethnic groups showed a tendency to identify primarily with an Instrumental orientation; however, 15 per cent of the Negroes and 11 per cent of the Polish teachers fell into this category, while none of the Irish or Jewish respondents did.

Relationship of Ethnicity to Dimensions in Role Orientation

In order to determine in which specific areas of role orientation do the greatest variations between ethnic groups appear, cross-tabulations for all of the fourteen questions are presented. The questions are grouped according to the three main dimensions on which role orientation is assumed to vary: (1) Teaching Motives, (2) Teaching Standards, and (3) Teaching Performance. Each dimension is further divided into its relevant subdivisions. Typical examples of the different attitudes toward the teaching role are given for each of the fourteen questions.

Chi-square tests were computed to determine if the groups differed significantly from what could be expected by chance in their patterns of response. A probability value of .05 or less was considered statistically significant.

Teaching Motives

The interview included four questions which were primarily related to motivations concerning the teaching activity. Two of these questions dealt with rewards and two questions were related to goals. The following is an anlysis of these four questions.

a. Rewards

1. Why did you become a teacher? (See Table 20.)

2. What aspect of the teaching job gives you the greatest satisfaction and reward? (See Table 21, p. 52.)

TABLE 20

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES (Percentage)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	50	30	20	20
Polish	56	22	22	18
Italian	37	26	37	19
Negro	15	15	70	20
Jewish	67	22	11	11
Other	36	28	36	11
Column percentages	43	24	33	106
Chi square	20.90[a]	DF 10	P value	$< .025$

[a] Chi square was computed on the observed counts of the actual distribution on which the percentages reported in the table were computed.

The modal role orientation for the Jewish, Irish, and Polish teachers appeared to be in Professional Category I for this question. Sixty-six per cent of the Jewish teachers, 55 per cent of the Polish teachers, and 50 per cent of the Irish teachers came into teaching because of their enjoyment of learning or because they were seeking intellectual growth. By contrast, only 15 per cent of the Negro teachers chose the occupation of teaching for professional reasons, while 70 per cent became teachers because they were seeking economic and job security. The Italian teachers did not have a primary pattern for choosing teaching as an occupation; their responses were distributed over the three categories.

The following is a representative sampling of actual responses to Question 1, divided according to the three categories.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 1.---Enjoy learning and intellectual growth. This category included replies such as:

> I decided to become a teacher when I was in high school, at about 16 or 17 . . . I had a teacher that inspired in me a desire for learning and knowing---a curiosity to know things and a deep sense of humanity. . . [22].

> College to me meant intellectual excitement, ideas, learning about different philosophies, historical movements, and meeting people who had some ideas too . . . I loved listening to my professors. All this was very exciting to me. I decided to become a teacher in my second or third year in college [No. 78].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 1.---Enjoy working with people, helping and guiding young people. This category included replies such as:

> I had always planned to be a priest . . . but when I left seminary I decided that I had to choose another career. I chose teaching. I knew whatever I did, it would have to be "people-centered," so I thought I might like to teach [No. 70].

> I made the decision to become a teacher when I was in elementary school. My relationship with the teachers at the orphanage was so important to me in my early childhood and youth, I decided that is what I wanted to be when I became an adult. They were warm and understanding and dedicated to helping children find their way. That's when I decided that I wanted to be a teacher.

> I chose teaching because I was helped by my teachers as a child and now I want to help someone else. . . [No. 1].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 1.—Economic and job security; cheapest college education. This included replies such as:

> When I got out of the service I went to school on my G.I. Bill and was looking around for a job that would pay me a decent salary. And I'm doing all right economically now as a teacher. My teaching leaves me my summers free. This summer I'm going to work as a janitor and do driver training. . . . With my summer work I earn about $10,000 a year. I don't think I could do any better than that at any other kind of a job [No. 10].

> I won a Mayor Daley Foundation Scholarship. I was one of the few Italian kids that won this. It's mostly the Irish who usually win this, but I wanted to make something of myself. Among the Italian people, teaching is considered a good job with a high status [No. 106].

> I went to college on the G.I. Bill. Otherwise, I couldn't have gone. I wasn't all fired up about going into teaching, but what else could a Negro kid do with a college education [No. 102]?

The response to Question 2: What aspect of the teaching job gives you the greatest satisfaction and reward (Table 21)? indicated that 83 per cent of the Jewish teachers and 70 per cent of the Irish teachers found their greatest reward in teaching their subject matter in the Professional Category I, while the Polish teachers claimed they preferred to help and counsel students, the Nurturant Category II, 67 per cent of the time. The Italian and Negro teachers were divided between Category I and Category II on this question.

Sample answers in Role-orientation Category I, Question 2.—Enjoy teaching subject matter. This category included replies such as:

> It is most satisfying when I see what I'm trying to get across come through . . . this I find very exciting. I particularly enjoy certain times when we close the circle in terms of the subject; and then we find ourselves coming around again, closing

TABLE 21

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 2 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	70	30	0	20
Polish	33	67	0	18
Italian	47	48	5	19
Negro	45	40	15	20
Jewish	83	17	0	18
Other	36	46	18	11
Column percentages	54	40	6	106
Chi square	22.05	DF 10	P value < .025	

> and synthesizing all of the math we've learned. I enjoy teaching math [No. 30].
>
> Just teaching. It's creative and I love it. It's a form of creativity, finding new ideas, discovering new things. I have always had the desire to be creative . . . this is how I feel about teaching [No. 22].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 2.--Helping and counseling the students. This category included replies such as:

> . . . when these kids don't know what they want in life and they don't know what to do, I enjoy helping them, helping them find themselves. That's the part of teaching I enjoy the most. As a matter of fact, it's counseling that I really enjoy [No. 64].
>
> I get a great deal of satisfaction at seeing a student who is having difficulty at home with family problems or school or personality problems overcome these problems. I had one experience with a boy last semester. He was failing in school. I took a great deal of trouble with him and brought in the psychologist. After a few months, I had him really on the ball. And this kid appreciates what I did. This is a sense of real satisfaction [No. 82].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 2.--Economic returns and pay. This category included replies such as:

> . . . the one thing I enjoy most about teaching is pay day [No. 10].
>
> I did not choose teaching, I just fell into it. I don't like to teach, it's too routine. I am conscientious and do not shirk my responsibility, I would never do that. But I feel that I have not gotten anything out of my teaching but my pay [No. 18].

We have seen the variety of ways teachers see the rewards of their profession. Now we will examine how they conceive their future occupational goals and how they would utilize additional free school time.

b. Goals

3. If you get the opportunities you would like, what do you expect to be doing five to ten years from now? (See Table 22.)

4. If you were given three extra hours free per week in school, what would you do with them? (See Table 23, p. 55.)

TABLE 22

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	20	50	30	20
Polish	39	50	11	18
Italian	26	32	42	19
Negro	35	20	45	20
Jewish	61	28	11	18
Other	18	55	27	11
Column percentages	34	38	28	106
Chi square	18.03	DF 10	P value < .06	

As for question 3 (Table 22), although the level of probability is above the .05 level, the findings suggest several interesting trends. Jewish teachers were outstanding in choosing the Professional category in their responses. Sixty-one per cent in this group planned college teaching or academic advancement as their goal in the period ahead. Irish and Polish teachers responded to this question 50 per cent of the time in the Nurturant category, i.e., they planned to go into counseling or to remain in the high school classroom. The modal orientation for the Italian and Negro teachers appeared to be in the Instrumental category. Their goal was to go into administration or "anything that paid more money."

Role-orientation Category I, Question 3.--College teaching or advance in academic field. This category included replies such as:

> I probably will go on to college teaching. Or, there's even a possibility that I'd go into industry using my math [No. 71].

> Actually, I have two choices. I can go on to law school, or I can go on to do graduate work in political science or international relations. If I did this, I would then teach on the college level [No. 42].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 3.--Counseling or remaining in high school. This category included replies such as:

> I like the high school level and I don't think that I would want to teach any place else. . . . I think that at this age they are rational, they can reason, and you see the different grades of motivation and maturity, and you see them changing. I think that this is a very interesting age and that is why I like to remain in the high school [No. 56].

> Well, I would like to stay in high school teaching, in the classroom. I like to teach high school youngsters. I don't think I would care for college. I think the high school student presents a bigger challenge. It's more fun working with this age group [No. 58].

> I would eventually like to be a counselor. The students have so many problems with no one to listen to their problems, no one to turn to for advice. I think I could help them so that they wouldn't drop out of school [No. 19].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 3.--Administration or anything that paid more money. This category included replies such as:

> If I had a job that would give me more money, I would take it tomorrow. I like to teach, but I also like expensive things and need to make more money [No. 35].

> I plan to go into administration. That's the only way to go up the scale, particularly in the educational field [No. 65].

> In administration you have more economic security and prestige. That's why I'd like to go into that [No. 25].

With the exception of Negro teachers, all groups appeared to have a Professional modal role orientation to the use of additional free school time (Question 4), i.e., they claimed a preference for further study and research in their field of study, or more time in the planning and preparation of classroom presentations (Table 23).

TABLE 23

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 4 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	60	25	15	20
Polish	50	22	28	18
Italian	53	26	21	19
Negro	25	45	30	20
Jewish	73	11	16	18
Other	28	36	36	11
Column percentages	49	27	24	106
Chi square	20.73	DF 10	P value < .025	

The Jewish group, with 72 per cent, ranked highest in the Professional Category I. Negro teachers had the highest incidence of role orientation in the Nurturant category, i.e., counseling and helping the individual student. However, 30 per cent of this group also chose the Instrumental category in response to the question, that is, preferring to use their free time for clerical work or extracurricular activities.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 4.--Do research, further reading in subject matter, preparation for classroom presentation or lab work. This category included replies such as:

> Oh, I would spend it in preparation for class, for subject planning, we need more time on this. There's too much clerical work and it doesn't leave me too much time to prepare for my teaching. I resent all the time I spend on clerical work. To me, the teaching of my subject matter is the most important [No. 34].

> Well, I take a number of professional journals and try to keep up to date on the new ideas and methods . . . but I don't have quite enough time [no. 3].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 4.--Tutor or counsel individual students. This category included replies such as:

> I would spend the time counseling students and helping the slower students [No. 44].

> I would like to spend it tutoring. Even the best of the students are going to be stuck and that's why I want to tutor them [No. 54].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 4.--Clerical work or extracurricular activities. This category included replies such as:

> Oh, if I had some extra time, I'd spend it on my paper work, trying to catch up on all of my clerical work. Because, after all, that's how the principal rates you, on whether you are up to date on your clerical work, and I'm new around here, and I want to make a good impression [No. 20].

> Well, I would pay more attention to my extra-curricular work. I

> am sponsor of the National Honor Society and the Future Teachers of America and I think I'd like to do a better job there. Actually, this will get me into administration quicker than my teaching will [No. 73].

In conclusion we may say that all four questions related to Teaching Motives display a statistically significant effect due to ethnic origin. An interesting trend that holds for the whole sample regardless of ethnicity is that very few of the teachers (6 per cent) admitted to instrumental teaching rewards. When asked about their future goals, however, one-fourth of the total group indicated a desire to engage in pursuit of instrumental goals, despite the fact that they had previously claimed not to find them rewarding.

The sharp differences in the pattern of teaching motivations and goals of the various ethnic groups can be summarized as follows. Among the Irish and Jewish teachers, one finds a clearly defined Professional orientation, with expressions of rewards in the intellectual or cognitive domain of the work role. One major difference between the two groups, however, was indicated in their choice of goals: On this question, the Irish chose the Nurturant category, as indicated above. A less clearly defined Instrumental pattern was shown among Negro teachers and, to a lesser degree, the Italian teachers. These two groups claimed they found their teaching rewards in utilitarian areas and indicated less of a commitment to the teaching role. Both groups had a modal orientation in the Instrumental category for their future occupational goals. The Polish displayed an ambiguous pattern on this dimension of role orientation. They claimed to have come into teaching for intellectual reasons, then stated that their teaching rewards were through "helping people."

They responded to future goals also along nurturant lines, expressing desires to go into counseling or to remain in the high school classroom. In contrast, they claimed that if they had free time at school, they would engage in professional pursuits rather than counseling or helping individual students. Thus on the first and last of the four questions they showed Professional attitudes, while they were predominantly Nurturant on the two remaining ones.

Therefore, in this first dimension of role orientation, three distinct patterns emerge: (a) strong Professional orientation (Jewish and Irish teachers); (b) a less clearly defined Instrumental orientation (Negro and Italian teachers); and (c) an ambiguous pattern, vacillating between the Professional and Nurturant categories (Polish teachers).

Teaching Standards

The next five questions were articulated around values concerning education, and reference group identification. The respondents were asked to express their ideas on the function of education and the type of student they believe should be produced in the Chicago high schools. They were also asked to identify their educational group loyalties. Questions 5 and 6 are concerned with this latter area. We will now examine and analyze the responses to these two questions.

a. Normative reference group

5. To whom do you believe the teacher owes his first loyalty: (1) administration, (2) student, (3) professional group? (See Table 24.)
6. In your classroom performance, whose approval do you believe is the most important? (See Table 25, p. 61.)

TABLE 24

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 5 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category I	II	III	Total N
Irish	55	30	15	20
Polish	44	50	6	18
Italian	21	63	16	19
Negro	30	65	5	20
Jewish	50	50	0	18
Other	18	46	36	11
Column percentages	38	51	11	106
Chi square	18.41	DF 10	P value $< .05$	

As may be observed, the first of these questions is dealt with in the above table. Fifty-one per cent of all teachers professed to owe their loyalty primarily to the "student." The groups displaying a modal orientation in this category, ranked in the following order: Negro, Italian, and Polish. Many of the respondents chose to reply to the question by answering that first loyalty was due to "self." This reply was interpreted to mean that their own self principles were involved and therefore placed in the Professional Category I.[1] Irish teachers were the only ones to have a majority in Category I; 55 per cent expressed first loyalty to professional or self-principles. Jewish teachers were evenly divided between Category I and II on this question.

---

[1] Respondents in this study who used "self" as their reference did so within a context of academic standards, e.g., claiming a teacher owes her first loyalty to her own "principles and standards," or that the satisfaction resultant from the maintenance of her own academic standards is the most important reward for a teacher. Although it was not possible to determine the referrent that the concept "academic standards" meant for each teacher, it appeared plausible to place these responses in the Professional category.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 5.--Professional principles or self principles. This category included replies such as:

> Well, it's certainly not to the principal. I think a teacher owes first responsibility and loyalty to his professional principles. I think that is more encompassing than responsibility to the students. Now, by that, I mean that professional principles has within it a responsibility to the students [No. 69].
>
> I cannot separate my own principles from professional principles. I think that if one carries out one's loyalty to his own principles, that will take care of loyalty to the students and the principal [No. 86].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 5.--Student. This category included such replies as:

> Oh, there is no doubt about it, the student. I don't know who else I'd be loyal to [No. 2].
>
> The student. Without the student there would be no need for a school or a teacher, so I believe everything should be for the student [No. 25].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 5.--Administration--principal. This category included replies such as:

> Well, I believe the teacher owes his first loyalty to the administration. By that I mean the whole administration. This leads to cohesiveness. . . [No. 51].
>
> To the principal, He's the boss [No. 84].

The responses of the teachers were distributed more or less evenly over the Professional and Nurturant categories on Question 6 (Table 25). Only 13 per cent fell into the Instrumental category. Many of the respondents who had chosen the "student" on the question of loyalty changed to "professionals in the field" when questioned on approval of classroom performance. The explanation given by some

TABLE 25

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 6 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category I	II	III	Total N
Irish	50	30	20	20
Polish	28	50	22	18
Italian	32	63	5	19
Negro	40	45	15	20
Jewish	61	39	0	18
Other	36	46	18	11
Column percentages	42	45	13	106
Chi square	11.33	DF 10	P value N.S.	

for this change was the belief that approval or evaluation of the teacher's classroom performance could not be left to the students. Nevertheless the majority (45 per cent) of the teachers expressed belief that the students' approval was the most important. The modal role orientation of the Irish and Jewish teachers on this question appeared in Category I (i.e., Professionals in the field), while the Polish, Italians, and Negro teachers again chose the "student" in Category II.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 6.--Self or colleagues. This category included replies such as:

> Well, I guess with my colleagues and with experts in the field. In math, national testing is important. I evaluate my work by how my students come out on the National Merit exams. And my students usually rate with a median score in the 95 percentile, and these are average students. I have a reputation of being a good teacher around here. You get this through to the students and the parents and it gets back to the administration, and that's how they know if you're a good teacher or not. They ar-

> rive at their evaluation mostly through the teacher's reputation, which they get from the parents and the students, and sometimes through visiting [No. 3].

> Sometimes you don't get the approval of the student. It may be something they don't like, so that I don't feel that I'm dependent on student approval. The administration sees only the external for their approval. Their approval isn't based on firsthand information. So I suppose I would say it's the fellow faculty members who know best; what they think is the most valid [No. 31].

> My own. I'm getting paid to do a job, and I don't care if the principal approves or not. I don't care what the kids think or what my colleagues may or may not think, but I do care about the kind of teaching job I am doing, and there is a certain pride that I take in my work [No. 77].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 6.--Students. This category included replies such as:

> Well, the most meaningful approval is from the students. Then, of course, other teachers next. But they never know. They're not in the classroom, and all they know about your teaching is what they hear from the students. So, when you get back to it, again the most meaningful one is from the students [No. 63].

> In the Chicago schools, the administration is irrelevant. Your colleagues do not know what you're doing. In order to teach in the Chicago public schools, you must get the approval of the students [No. 8].

> The only one I would want to evaluate my work would be the students. I believe the senior students could do a better job than anyone. I can look at the faces of my students and tell whether I'm doing the job [No. 2].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 6.--Principal--administration. This category included replies such as:

> I suppose I enjoy it if a student says I'm doing a good job but, of course, I'd much prefer having the approval of the principal. After all, we're rated by the principal, and I like to be approved by my superiors. There are certain rules that we have to carry out, and I like to do it the way it should be done [No. 34].

> As far as I'm concerned, I think I would choose the administration as the most important for classroom approval. I'm not

> interested in running a popularity contest with the students. As far as students' approval, I think the performance of their work is approval enough for me [No. 51].

We have here, again, some differences among the teachers in their attitudes towards various educational reference groups. The next three questions to be examined will be concerned with the teachers' views on the function of education, and on the kind of student produced by the Chicago schools.

b. Function and product of education

7. What do you believe is the major function or job of the high school in the city of Chicago? (See Table 26.)
8. What kind of student do you believe should be produced by Chicago high schools: (1) scholars, (2) socially adjusted, (3) one who can follow rules and regulations? See Table 27, p. 66.)
9. What do you believe a student should "get out" of high school? (See Table 28, p. 68.)

As to the first of these questions (Table 26), the answers were distributed rather evenly over Category I (provide a good academic education) and Category II (prepare the individual child to fulfill his social role). It was among Jewish teachers only that one found a more clear-cut orientation to Category I. Some of the teachers chose to combine Category I and II in their response, claiming that the abilities of the individual student were the determining factor. Thus, it became necessary to include Category IV, Other, in the distribution of responses to this question, and 9 per cent of the replies fell into this category.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 7.--Good academic education, ability to think, reason. This category included replies such as:

TABLE 26

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 7 IN VARIOUS
ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category				Total N
	I	II	III	IV	
Irish	40	30	10	20	20
Polish	39	28	28	5	18
Italian	37	42	16	5	19
Negro	25	45	15	15	20
Jewish	67	28	0	5	18
Other	36	55	9	0	11
Column percentages	41	37	13	9	106
Chi square	17.54	DF	15		P value N.S.

> The job of the school is to educate the kid. They should learn to value education for its own sake [No. 87].

> The major function of the school is to give the student an intellectual background. This is more important than anything else [No. 31].

> My biggest complaint with the Chicago high schools is the fact that the education of the youth comes second. The administration thinks that the most important job is getting a body into a seat, and what that body gets in terms of education, no one seems to care very much [No. 75].

> I think it's to get a good academic background. This is the only job that should be the responsibility of the high school. All this other stuff is nonsense [No. 3].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 7.—*Prepare for life, fill needs of individual child*. This category included replies such as:

> First and above all, make the person acceptable to society and who can accept society. . . . The school should help them fit into society [No. 25].

> To give direction to the student . . . so that he can become socially adjusted [No. 64].

> Well, I think the school should prepare everyone for life . . . preparation for life and how they are to live their adult life, this should be the main goal of the school [No. 70].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 7.--Become a good citizen, train for a job. This category included replies such as:

> Well, I think they are too much worried about preparing the general population for college. I think that they should be more concerned in preparing them to get a job and to earn a living . . . preparing them to live after they get out of high school. This is the main job of the high school [No. 88].
>
> To prepare the youngsters for good citizenship. I think that's the most important job [No. 72].
>
> I think that it's to prepare the individual for a vocation in life. I think this is the main job [No. 96].

Role-orientation Category IV, Question 7.--(Combination of categories.) This category included replies such as:

> I think there should be two different kinds of high school education. One is to give the students that can take it a good academic background, and another is to get training and skill in order to get a job. We have to separate these two [No. 34].
>
> You have to separate the students, those who are going to college and those who will not--those who will end up only with a high school diploma. . . [No. 90].
>
> Well, with this compulsory education and trying to hold the students in school until he can be released, they're having a hard time on dropouts. I think they should try to bring the students up to standards in each field. And those that pass go on into college. I don't think they should give diplomas if they've reached a certain level or standard. There should be a certain certificate of completion of work or something like that. . . [no. 87].

Given the three choices of Question 8--which queries the respondents as to what kind of student they believe should be produced by Chicago high schools--(Table 27), 70 per cent of the teachers chose "socially adjusted" as opposed to "scholars." Only 6 per cent of the answers fell into the Instrumental category. Many of the respondents commented that they could not choose "scholar" for Chicago schools. This is one of the two questions on which all the ethnic groups gave a modal response in the same category.

TABLE 27

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	40	50	10	20
Polish	22	67	11	18
Italian	11	89	0	19
Negro	15	85	0	20
Jewish	39	61	0	18
Other	18	64	18	11
Column percentages	24	70	6	106
Chi square	16.95	DF 10	P value N.S.	

Role-orientation Category I, Question 8.--Scholars. This category included replies such as:

> I am going to stick my neck out on this and say "scholar." But it's not the old-fashioned interpretation of a scholar. In my mind, a high level of intelligence means capable of interpreting some of the different ways of life around you, and being able to read something more than just the pulp stories. Maybe being able to understand a little something of the great philosophies and being able to expand your mind [No. 27].
>
> Well, I'd like to see scholars. If you are a scholar, then you can become the individual who is well-rounded and be able to adjust and follow the rules set up by society [No. 45].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 8.--Socially adjusted, well-rounded individuals. This category included replies such as:

> Socially adjusted. In a school such as ours, this is what we have to strive for, to see that the individual is socially ad-

> justed and can make his way. As far as the scholar is concerned, there really should be special schools for them. But I think for most students to become socially adjusted is the most important thing [No. 43].

> There are not too many scholars around, and that includes me, so that I think to be socially adjusted is the most important thing for us to produce [No. 57].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 8.--Individuals who can follow the rules and regulations of today's society. This category included replies such as:

> Well, I think I would choose the one who follows the rules, but, of course, this is what I would choose for our school. Maybe at different schools they feel differently [No. 78].

> I like the Polish and Serbian kids, particularly those who have an I.Q. no higher than 100. Most of their fathers are skilled shop workers. These kids are not so good academically, but they know how to follow rules [No. 10].

The replies to Question 9--concerning what the teachers thought the students should "get out" of high school--which was left "open-ended," indicated a reversal in the position of teachers compared with the previous question (Table 28). Fifty-one per cent of the teachers believed that the student should receive a good academic background in high school. The modal role orientation for all the groups, with the exception of the Negro teachers, appeared to be in the Professional category. The responses of the Negro teachers were distributed throughout the categories. Here, as in Question 7, two categories were combined. In this instance, however, it was category I and III. Several teachers expressed a belief that only some of the students should receive an academic education, while others, less capable academically, should be prepared for a job. These combined responses were also placed in Category IV. Seventeen per cent of the sample came under this category on this question.

TABLE 28

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 9 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category				Total N
	I	II	III	IV	
Irish	60	15	0	25	20
Polish	56	28	0	16	18
Italian	58	32	5	5	19
Negro	25	35	15	25	20
Jewish	72	17	0	11	18
Other	27	37	18	18	11
Column percentages	51	26	6	17	106
Chi square	21.57	DF 15		P value N.S.	

Role-orientation Category I, Question 9.--A good academic background, to value education. This category included replies such as:

> A good academic background is what they should be getting [No. 56].
>
> The student should get a good academic background out of high school [No. 65].
>
> I would say a good academic background. The other things they can get at home. People send their children to high school to get an education, not to learn to get along with people (No. 70].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 9.--Develop the individual's potentialities. This category included replies such as:

> I think to develop their individual talents and abilities, that's the teacher's job, to try to bring out the talents and abilities of each particular child [No. 43].
>
> The objective of the school, I think, specifically states that

> we're to develop the individual talents and abilities of the students, and I go along with that one hundred per cent [No. 59].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 9.--Training for a job or vocation. This category included replies such as:

> I think that a student should get training and skill that will enable him to get a specific job when he leaves high school [No. 96].
>
> Come on now, let's face it. We have to prepare these kids so that when they leave high school they can go out and get a job [No. 10].

Role-orientation Category IV, Question 9.--Some students, academic background; others, training for job or learn to get along with people. This category included replies such as:

> Well, there are two kinds of students. The better students should get a good academic background, but the poorer students, I think they should learn to get along with people. You certainly can't train them for a job today, occupations are so varied [No. 85]
>
> The students have different kinds of goals . . . those that are the academic type should get a good education. The others should be developed to their fullest potential [No. 31].

In this second dimension of role orientation (Teaching Standards), statistically significant inter-ethnic differences were found only in the area of reference group identifications. Although more than half of the teachers chose the "student" (Nurturant Category II) as their reference, variations were found within the ethnic groups. The Irish and Jewish teachers expressed the belief that professional or "self" principles were the criteria for their loyalties and approval of classroom performance. In contrast, the Polish, Negro, and Italian teachers were quite clear in their choice of the "student" as their reference group identification.

The questions concerning the function of the high school and the type of students to be produced did not reveal as clearly defined patterns as did reference group identification. The teachers were divided in their beliefs as to the function of the high school, particularly between those who believed the most important function was to provide a good academic education and those who expressed the belief that preparation for life for each individual child was the most important job of the high school. A few expressed the opinion that preparation for a specific job was the primary function of the high school.

Such differences, however, did not seem to be associated with the ethnic factor, with the possible exception of the Jewish group. The Jewish teachers were the only group to exhibit a clear-cut Professional pattern of orientation on this question, the response of the other ethnic groups were distributed over the remaining categories.

When questioned on the type of student to be produced in the Chicago schools, an overwhelming majority of teachers replied "socially-adjusted." This is one of two questions to which all of the ethnic groups gave a modal response in the same category. There is the possibility, however, that if this question had been left "open-ended" instead of "alternate choice," the response might have been different.

To summarize the total ethnic response pattern on this dimension of role orientation, Irish and Jewish teachers were again strongly oriented toward Professionalism. Both groups deviated from this pattern in choosing "socially-adjusted" students to be produced. The two groups differed as to the function of the high school. Irish teachers did not indicate a clearly defined pattern of responses to this question, while Jewish teachers again chose the Professional category.

Among the Polish, Italian, and Negro groups, one found a strong Nurturant orientation. Almost 90 per cent of the Italian teachers and 85 per cent of the Negro teachers felt that "socially-adjusted" students should be produced. None of these three groups indicated a specific pattern in response to the question as to the function of the high school. Their replies were distributed over all four categories.

The following section will be devoted to examining interview responses relating to the third dimension around which role orientation is assumed to vary.

Teaching Performance (specific tasks)

The final five questions relate to the teachers' views as to the nature of the teaching task. The specific areas explored were views on students' classroom work evaluation; views on teacher-student relationships; most important ingredient for good classroom discipline and effective teacher traits; and the kind of student they would prefer to teach. These are the questions to be analyzed in this section.

c. Teaching Performance

10. How should a student's work be evaluated? What do you do if a student tries but does not achieve? (See Table 29.)

11. What do you believe to be the most important trait of an effective teacher? (See Table 30, p. 76.)

12. What do you believe should be the relationship of the teacher to the student? (See Table 31, p. 77.)

13. What kind of student would you prefer to teach? (See Table 32, p. 80.)

14. What do you believe to be the most important ingredient for good classroom discipline? (See Table 33, p. 83.)

Evaluation of the students' work (Table 29) was the second question on which all ethnic groups agreed: All had a modal orientation in the Nurturant Category II. More than half of the teachers expressed the view that the students' work should be evaluated on the basis of individual growth and development. Twenty per cent of the teachers were of the opinion that absolute standards should be maintained, while 24 per cent claimed they believed a student should be passed if he made any effort at all. Most of the teachers spoke at great length on this question.

TABLE 29

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 10 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	25	40	25	20
Polish	22	56	22	18
Italian	16	63	21	19
Negro	25	60	15	20
Jewish	11	61	28	18
Other	18	55	27	11
Column percentages	20	56	24	106
Chi square	12.19	DF 10	P Value N.S.	

Role-orientation Category I, Question 10.--According to certain standards, achievement alone, scored ability. This category included replies such as:

> I will not pass a student even though he puts in an all-out effort but does not achieve. I think these students should be brought up to standard. I think they should be evaluated in relation to certain standards. I have a high percentage of failures. I'm constantly being called into the office because of this. It takes place every semester. I've had the principal say to me, "If you fail so many students, you should be paid for only the people that you pass. If you're not passing someone, then apparently you're not a good teacher." He doesn't want to know anything about the student. All he wants is that everyone should pass. That's good for his record [No. 10].

> You cannot pass a student along without knowing certain facts about this level of math. You have to fail them if they don't know it. There is certain essential knowledge that they must get, and if they don't, I fail them. Sure, I had 28 per cent failures this last time, and yesterday I was called into the office and told I had too high a failure rate. I tried to explain and document why I had such a high rate, but was told that I had to "adjust" my standards [No. 67].

> There used to be a teacher at our school that had a high number of failures. He was constantly being called in. Maybe his standards were higher than mine. I wasn't called in. I didn't have that many failures. Or, maybe his standards have dropped now a little, because he no longer fails as many. I suppose they go to him. I sometimes wonder how some of these seniors have gotten as far as they have. I suppose it's because teachers have just passed them along, but by that time, it's too late for me to do anything, so even a senior, if he works to the best of his ability, I'll just pass him. This is a problem that's been bugging me for a long time [No. 34].

> It's easier to evaluate math than any other subject. There's a certain subject matter that they must get. If they don't get it, they don't pass. The real problem is the essentials classes. I haven't had any, but I would hesitate teaching such a class [No. 29].

> I'm called into the office quite often and told that I should lower my percentage of failure. They don't discuss with me how I can do it. These students that we have need a lot of help. They need extra help, remedial help, that I'm not able to give them. I haven't the time, I haven't the training, and I really haven't the interest [No. 63].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 10.--Individual growth and development: effort and some achievement. This category included replies such as:

> If I see a student is improving, it may not be on a high academic level, but he is making progress--I will pass him [No. 54].

> I evaluate my students on individual growth, and I give them the material that I believe they can accomplish. And they usually do. I work with them until they do, and even if they can't pass the written test, then I'll give them an oral test. If they can pass that, then I'll let them go. But it depends on the individual growth of the student [No. 27].

> In evaluating the student, you have to look at the whole student; I have no set rule. I try to evaluate the growth and development of the individual student [No. 82].

> I do not fail many students. This is mainly because I'm kind, because if a student has made an effort, I'll pass him, even though I know sometimes it will affect his next grade. It's rather pathetic to see a student who is poor in English trying very hard and not able to make it. I think, I find it a little hard to fail kids [No. 31].

> If a student is not capable of doing more, is putting in a real effort, but cannot do it, I will pass him. Of course, I feel I am performing in double standards, but how long can you keep a freshman in this class? One of the tricks is to give a student a red "F," which means they've barely passed, giving them the benefit of the doubt. However, we have a term around here that we use if a teacher passes a student that doesn't deserve it. We call it "selling out" because you're really not doing the student a favor [No. 30].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 10.--If make an effort, then will pass; administration policy. This category included replies such as:

> Oh, I get around the failures, that doesn't bother me. You know, we have the pure and the absentee failures, and if I have too many failures, I simply call them absentee. I left school once before because of being called in because of so many failures. That won't happen to me again [No. 98].

> In the essentials class, if they put in a lot of effort, even though they do not achieve, I'll pass them. In these groups, there's no class standard, no set amount of knowledge they have to know. If I see they're trying, I'll pass them [No. 64].

> I have three basic courses, one essential, and one regular. If a student makes an all-out effort, I will pass him, and I'm only doing this in order to conform to the rules of the administra-

> tion. I'm aware of the pressures, and rather than have any trouble with the administration, I just go ahead and pass the students [No. 86].

> When I have a student that is working hard and does not achieve anything, I'll pass him. After all, this is what the Board of Education says you have to do. If I failed all those who I really thought should fail, I'd be failing anywhere from 30 to 50 per cent of my class, and believe me, I keep under the 10 per cent failures. Oh, I've heard of some teachers having trouble on this, but I've never had any trouble because I've been smart enough to stay under the 10 per cent. So if the kid is trying, I'll just pass him, that's that. That's what they want me to do. Why should I fight it [No. 43]?

> These students that I have come from a Slavic background and they're not academically minded. Their background doesn't provide them with this. Their sense of values does not include valuing education. I know because I came from such a background. So if they try, I'll pass them [No. 78].

Although more than half of the respondents expressed belief that the most important trait an effective teacher should possess is the ability to communicate and have rapport with the students, sharp differences between the ethnic groups were obvious (Table 30). The replies of the Polish, Italian, and Negro groups were the strongest in Category II. In contrast, Jewish and Irish teachers were of the firm belief that knowledge of subject matter was far more important. At the same time, one-fourth of the teachers claimed that the teacher's ability to control the class was the primary factor. The largest incidence of responses in this latter group was found among Negro teachers.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 11.--Knowledge in subject matter, expert in field. This category included replies such as:

> She can't be a good teacher if she's not keeping up with developments in her particular field, so that if you're going to have something to put across, you have to keep up with it in the first place [No. 27].

TABLE 30

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 11 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	70	25	5	20
Polish	44	56	0	18
Italian	21	68	11	19
Negro	10	65	25	20
Jewish	61	33	6	18
Other	27	55	18	11
Column percentages	32	58	10	106
Chi square	20.52	DF 10	P value < .025	

> The teacher wouldn't be of much value if he didn't have knowledge of his subject matter. This is the crux of it [No. 74].

> Enthusiasm and interest in the subject itself. I think it is most important for the teacher to keep up with recent developments in the field [No. 41].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 11.--Communication and rapport with students. This category included replies such as:

> I think it should be a warm, human relationship. The teacher should always appear human, understanding, and knowledgeable, and should, above all, be always approachable. My students bring their problems to me, all kinds of problems. There's so much emotional confusion and chaos, most of the time all I can do is listen to them [No. 69].

> Appreciation of kids, someone that really wants to help them, someone that's really looking out for them [No. 46].

> Well, of course, it's important that the teacher have a basic knowledge of the subject matter, but unless the teacher has rapport with the students, all the knowledge and all the training isn't going to do her any good. I suppose the most important trait is rapport with the students [No. 68].

> The teacher should be consistent. There should be a certain consistency. I think an effective teacher has this. I believe,

> ideally, the better teacher would be most interested in helping each child achieve [No. 70].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 11.--Ability to control class and get along with people. This category included replies such as:

> I think to get along with the students and to be fair [No. 106].
>
> In the Chicago school system, a teacher must be able to control the class. I think that's the most important trait a teacher must have [No. 8].
>
> A teacher should be able to have control of himself and of the classroom situation. In a quiet classroom you will find some learning will take place. I think a controlled situation, with a teacher who has control of himself . . . this is an effective teacher [No. 85].

On the question of teacher-student relationship, the Irish had a preponderant 85 per cent of the responses in Category I, indicating a very strong belief in the need to keep this rapport on an impersonal professional level (Table 31). As a result of this high percentage, 51 per cent of the sample appeared in Category I, although the other ethnic groups divided rather evenly between Category I and III.

TABLE 31

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 12 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES (Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	85	15	0	20
Polish	45	44	11	18
Italian	42	37	21	19
Negro	40	40	20	20
Jewish	50	44	6	18
Other	36	55	9	11
Column percentages	51	38	11	106
Chi square	15.71	DF 10	P value N.S.	

Role-orientation Category I, Question 12.--Professional, impersonal attitude, teacher respect. This category included replies such as:

> It should be a friendly one, yet reserved. None of this buddy-buddy stuff [No. 56].
>
> A reserved friendliness. While I, myself, am rather casual in class, I still want them to realize that I am the teacher, recognize that I am on a professional level [No. 80].
>
> Well, I don't believe in this buddy-buddy business. I think a teacher should be aloof to a certain extent, but interested in the student [No. 41].
>
> It should be one of mutual respect, particularly the respect of the teacher. However, at the same time, the teacher should not be feared. But the emphasis should be on respect for the teacher [No. 28].
>
> There should definitely be a distinction between the teacher and the student, but this cannot be achieved mechanically. The teacher must command the respect. A teacher must identify with a professional point of view, and this is what makes the difference [No. 38].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 12.--Close friendly relationship, teacher-student rapport. This category included replies such as:

> I think it's important to have rapport with the students if you're going to get the job done [No. 45].
>
> Well, I don't think the teacher should be aloof or play god. There should be a congenial relationship. It certainly should not be on a buddy-buddy basis, but I think there should be a friendly relationship in and out of class. Just take last week. During the spring vacation, my wife and I took ninety students to Washington [No. 59].
>
> I believe that teachers should be able to get along with any child. Rapport with the student is one of the most important aspects of teaching, but you cannot have rapport in a vacuum. It has to be around something, and this is where your knowledge of the subject matter comes in [No. 1].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 12.--Distance between teacher and student; teacher authority figure. This category included replies such as:

> The teacher should be in control, no buddy-buddy. There should be a distance between the teacher and the student, there should be a gulf. I don't encourage my students to bring their problems to me. I don't think that's my job [No. 96].
>
> Well, I think there should be a gap between the teacher and the student. When I see these students trying to develop a buddy-buddy relationship, I cool it off immediately. I don't encourage this. There should always be a distance between the teacher and the student [No. 98].
>
> I am strict with my students. A lot of them want to be buddy-buddy with me, but I won't allow them. Some of them want to talk over their problems with me, but I usually send them to a counselor, or, depending on the problem, I tell them to talk it over with their parents. I have to be careful with these kids. If I don't, I'll lose control of my class. So I have to keep the relationship on a very strict basis [No. 20].

Relating their views as to the ideal student, 59 per cent of the teachers expressed a preference for "bright gifted" ones, while 31 per cent claimed they would prefer to teach the "average" student (Table 32). Only 10 per cent of the general sample was of the belief that the "Under-achiever" or "basic" student would be the most challenging.

Out of the eighteen Jewish teachers in the sample, sixteen preferred the academically outstanding student. This extremely clear choice was almost equally paralleled by the Irish and Polish teachers. These three groups stand in sharp contrast to the Italian and Negro teachers, among whom the greatest number expressed preference for the "average" rather than the "bright" student.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 13.--Bright, gifted, honor, above average, interested in learning. This category included replies such as:

TABLE 32

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 13 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
(Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	70	20	10	20
Polish	67	17	16	18
Italian	47	0	53	19
Negro	30	10	60	20
Jewish	89	5	6	18
Other	45	9	46	11
Column percentages	59	10	31	106
Chi square	28.63	DF 10	P value < .005	

I think I would like the gifted, competitive child. They're more challenging. I think the student I like the best is one that is interested in knowledge for its own sake, and this is not necessarily the smartest kids, but kids that are interested in learning. You'll find them in the average class as well as in the brightest. Like the other day, I was talking to them about some cathedral in Rome, and I could see some of the students were yawning and bored to tears, and I said, "Well, I suppose this is pretty far removed from every day life and I guess you're not interested." And this young Negro girl spoke up. She said, "I'm interested. I'd like to know more about it. It sounds very interesting." Now, this girl was, I think she really was, she wanted to know more about this [No. 76].

Of course, the highly competitive, the gifted child. Who would not want that kind of student [No. 94]?

Well, at the risk of being called an intellectual snob, I'll take the gifted student. First of all, you know, there's a certain prestige in teaching the gifted student. If you're conducting an advanced class, you have a certain status [No. 95].

Now, I suppose the gifted are more interesting to teach, I guess, but at times, I feel actually inadequate in teaching the very gifted. And, of course, in some ways the average class is quite satisfying. These are the classes of the solid plodders, neither gifted nor interested. And the slow under-achievers, I've had very little experience with them. So, I suppose of this group,

> I would choose the more gifted, but to me it would mean someone who was interested, that, to me, is the gifted child, someone who's interested in knowledge, not merely someone who's getting high grades [No. 75].
>
> On the remedial classes, I feel sorry for those poor kids, and they're always so grateful for everything that you do for them. I taught remedial English classes. I didn't have any trouble with them, but I suppose I'd rather have the honors class. I'm not too patient with the slower students. I lose my temper [No. 35].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 13.--Under-achiever, basic student. This category included replies such as:

> Well, I would like to teach the under-achiever, but not the way, the setup, that we have today. If we could really and truly give individual instruction, then I would want to take the under-achiever. But the way it is today, it's most frustrating. And I wouldn't want to touch it as it is now. But I enjoy teaching the under-achiever, I think, more than any of the others [No. 84].
>
> I would prefer to teach all basics. Then you can do more for the student this way. I've learned to know the students and understand the students and don't feel pressure from the poor slow students that some of the others do. I like to teach the basics. But, about the time you become qualified in it, they change you. But I think if you stick to it, you can accomplish more and the students begin to feel that someone is really interested in working with them if you carry them all the way through in basic [No. 62].
>
> I want to help the under-achiever. I think this is where I can do the most good [No. 64].
>
> I don't mind teaching the under-achievers. As a matter of fact, I would enjoy teaching them if the school would give me some materials to work with them. The Board of Education just put out a book for the basic class, but it is too elementary. Besides, the kid seen carrying the book is immediately labeled "the kid from the dummy room." Even though these kids are dirty and they even stink, they still have feelings. The under-achievers are actually less of a problem, at least to me. They don't give you much trouble. They're confused. And it's not because they can't learn. When you see progress in an under-achiever, it is really gratifying [No. 19].
>
> I enjoy teaching my essentials science class more than I do my honor math. I feel it is much more important. The honor stu-

dents can get it from a book, but not the essentials [No. 12].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 13.--Average Student. This category included replies such as:

> Well, the under-achiever is the one I like the least. The competitive student can really tire you, and sometimes it's refreshing and relaxing to be around the student that is not so competitive or so ambitious, but is more docile. They're more pleasant as people [No. 31].
>
> I can do a lot more with the regular class than with the honors class. They're more of a challenge to me [No. 25].
>
> The smart, competitive student can be terribly overbearing. After being around them for a while, you enjoy the good student that sits there and says nothing, just the good old average student [No. 34].

The replies about classroom discipline were distributed rather evenly, but there were a few ethnic trends worth noting. (See Table 33.) Irish and Negro teachers expressed the view that "strict discipline and a firm hand" was the most important ingredient for "good" classroom discipline. Fifty per cent of the Jewish teachers believed that a "teacher committed to the subject matter" was more important. Italian and Polish teachers were divided on this question.

Role-orientation Category I, Question 14.--Teacher committed to subject, well-scheduled program of studies. This category included replies such as:

> I think interest in subject matter and one that will interest the class in the subject matter [No. 67].
>
> Well, I think if a teacher knows the material well and knows how to organize it and make it interesting, that kind of teacher doesn't have discipline problems [No. 65].
>
> As far as discipline in the classroom, I think you can achieve it in only one way, and that's by being well prepared. If you keep them busy and keep the material interesting, then you automatically eliminate all discipline problems. Our school is only

TABLE 33

ETHNIC GROUP RESPONSES TO QUESTION 14 IN VARIOUS ROLE-ORIENTATION CATEGORIES (Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Role-Orientation Category			Total N
	I	II	III	
Irish	30	20	50	20
Polish	39	22	39	18
Italian	21	47	32	19
Negro	10	40	50	20
Jewish	50	28	22	18
Other	18	73	9	11
Column percentages	24	40	36	106
Chi square	16.48	DF 10	P value N.S.	

> 85 per cent Negro, the others are Mexican, Puerto Rican, and mostly, I would say, from the working class. But yet, we don't have too many discipline problems compared to some of the other schools. And the real key to discipline in the classroom is a well-prepared and interesting program of study [No. 43].
>
> I believe the most important ingredient for good classroom discipline is a well-scheduled program of studies, at the students' level, that will capture the interest of the students. If he is interested, you can move forward and you'll have no discipline problem [No. 31].

Role-orientation Category II, Question 14.--Rapport and understanding of students. This category included replies such as:

> I think that in order for a teacher to get discipline in the classroom, she should show interest in the students, in their betterment, and in their improvement. The teacher should not scold them, should speak softly, and above all, show interest. If you, yourself, are interested and bring out the good parts about their background and ignore the bad habits and their bad background, you can win over these kids. At least, this is what I try to do. I guess--what is it? Follow the scriptures. "Show yourself the candle in the light, bring out the light." Well, I try to bring out the good points. When I talk about race, I try to bring out the good points. I say, look, we know the bad points. Let's just look at the good ones. And they respond to

> that. If you show you're interested in them, you'll establish rapport and then it's easier to go on from there. I think that this is the job we teachers have to do [No. 41].

> I think that the most important ingredient for discipline is respect. You have to respect a person no matter what their color is. And they also feel that you have to be honest and understanding, willing to help them and to educate them. If you feel this way about it, you are not going to have any problem. But I think that the teacher that tries to cheat the student, who doesn't prepare, who sets them down and tells them to read a book, write some answers--the student feels cheated. They begin to take it out on the teacher [No. 57].

Role-orientation Category III, Question 14.--Strict discipline, firm hand. This category included replies such as:

> I say being firm, to demand certain things and follow through. I think in terms of discipline this being firm all the way through is so terribly important. As far as discipline is concerned, I keep a firm, tight hand on that classroom [No. 58].

> I think the most important ingredient is to be firm, and even if you've made a mistake, you should follow through. If you're strict and firm the first weeks of class, then you can relax later [No. 88].

> Well, I think the teacher has to be able to control the students. The teacher has to be able to handle the situation so that the students don't get out of hand. Even though I am young, it [discipline] has never been a problem with me. At one time some of the kids tried to call me by my first name, but I put them in their place and I'm "Mr." to them now [No. 103].

Of the five questions related to the nature of the teaching task, only two showed statistically significant differences due to ethnic origins. One dealt with the trait deemed most important for an effective teacher; the other inquired about the kind of student preferred by the teachers. On both questions, one found sharp contrasts between the groups. Polish, Italian, and Negro teachers believed that the ability to achieve student communication and rapport was the most important trait for an effective teacher, while the Irish and the Jewish claimed that academic excellence was more important for the teacher. On the question of type of student preferred, here again there was a preponderance of replies from Irish and Jewish teachers in the Professional category indicating a preference for the "bright, gifted" student, while the Italian and Negro groups chose the Instrumental category, both preferring the "average" student. The Polish teachers on this question joined with the Irish and Jewish in their choice of Category I.

On only one question were all of the ethnic groups in agreement in their choice of category, and that was on the question of the evaluation of the students' work. The majority of teachers were of the belief that work evaluation should be done on the basis of individual growth and development, the Nurturant category.

In this dimension of role orientation, Jewish and Irish groups were primarily oriented to the Professional category. Jewish teachers chose another category on only one question. In the area of evaluation, they chose the Nurturant Category II. The Irish teachers did not display any particular pattern on this question, they also deviated on the question of "discipline," expressing an Instrumental orientation. An interesting trend among Irish teachers was their extraordinarily high response in the Professional category to the questions relating to the important teacher trait and teacher-student relationships. In both instances, it was much higher than for Jewish teachers or for any of the other Catholic groups.

Negro and Italian teachers again made similar choices in four out of the five questions in this area. They differed only on the question of discipline. The Italians chose the Nurturant category and the Negroes the Instrumental, otherwise their pattern indicated a strong orientation in the Nurturant category. The Negro group, although strongest in Category II, also evidenced a strong Instrumental orientation.

The Polish group was again divided in its responses in this area. Although they were strong in the Nurturant category, particularly in student evaluations and teacher traits, they chose the Professional category when asked about the type of student preferred.

Summary

The first basic question raised by this study concerned the attitudes of urban high school teachers toward their occupational role. Specifically, it could be phrased as follows: Can we distinguish differential patterns of role orientation in a group of teachers? It had been hypothesized that systematic variations in attitudes could be recognized.

As a means of ordering the data, three "ideal-typical" categories were selected and tentatively defined: Professional, Nurturant, and Instrumental. It had not been anticipated that any one teacher would be so strongly identified with just one role that all of his answers would be scored in only one of those role-orientation categories. However, it was expected that if a teacher's main approach to his work-role is along a particular orientation, one would find a clustering of answers around that particular category of response. If the responses of a teacher to the fourteen question used to determine role orientation could be scored in the same category at least half of the time, i.e., seven or more answers fell into one of the three ideal-typical categories, the teacher was assumed to orient primarily to that particular role.

The findings indicate that there is indeed a tendency on the part of the teachers to identify primarily with only one of the three categories of role orientation. Eighty-two per cent responded seven or more times in just one category.

In this sample, however, the teachers' responses were divided evenly in only two categories: Professional and Nurturant. Very few seemed to be primarily oriented to the Instrumental role. Perhaps the reason so few of the teachers chose the Instrumental category could be attributed to the method of sampling. Since this category reflects the attitude of a teacher uncommitted to the teaching role, it is possible that such a teacher would not have been recommended for interviewing by his peers. Another possible explanation could be that despite a teacher's detachment, some commitment along Professional or Nurturant lines must be made when facing the classroom. A weak commitment may manifest itself as a lack of pattern in the responses—a condition found among 18 per cent of the sample.

Although it is recognized that the method of determining role-orientation patterns is by no means a rigorous one, such a tabulation does seem to reflect the teachers' primary orientation. Therefore, it can be said, for purposes of this study and within the limitations of the analysis employed, that the answer to the first question of our inquiry is positive. The majority of teachers sampled in this study oriented toward one of the two originally defined categories: Professional or Nurturant.

The second basic question to which this study is addressed concerns the relationship of ethnicity to variations in role orientation among teachers. Three approaches were taken in an attempt to find an answer to this question. First, an analysis of variance on the frequency of responses to the fourteen questions in each role-orientation category was performed in an effort to determine whether the responses tend to be more homogeneous _within_ an ethnic group than _between_ ethnic groups.

The findings indicate that membership in a given ethnic group does seem to be significantly related to the _Professional_ orientation of the teacher, and to a lesser degree, to the _Instrumental_ orientation as well. Variations in _Nurturant_ responses within each ethnic group, however, were apparently too large to allow for a significant between-group effect to appear. Later analysis may offer some explanation for this phenomenon.

The analysis of variance gave the first indication of the differential role-orientation patterns found among the ethnic groups studied. The mean number of responses for Jewish and Irish teachers was highest in the _Professional_ category, while that of Italian and Negro teachers was highest in the _Nurturant_ category. The mean number of responses for the Polish group was about as high in the _Professional_ as in the _Nurturant_ category.

Our second step was to seek primary role identifications among the various ethnic groups. This was done by tabulating the frequency of teachers in the various ethnic groups who identified primarily with one of the three role-orientation categories, i.e., teachers who selected seven or more of the fourteen questions in a given category. The findings revealed a pattern similar to the one indicated by the analysis of variance. The highest incidence of the primary role orientation among Jewish and Irish teachers was in the Professional category. The modal role orientation of the Italian and Negro groups appeared in the Nurturant category, although Negro teachers also had more than any other group in the Instrumental category. The Polish teachers indicated a slightly stronger primary orientation to the Professional category.

In order to explore further the relationship between ethnicity and the various dimensions of role orientation, a third step was taken. A thematic analysis of the relationship between the various ethnic groups in specific areas of role orientation was undertaken. Cross-tabulations were made between membership in an ethnic group and role orientation for each of the fourteen questions. The questions were grouped according to the three main dimensions on which role orientation is assumed to vary: (a) Teaching Motives, (b) Teaching Standards, and (c) Teaching Performance. Each dimension was further divided into relevant subdivisions. Chi square tests were computed to determine if the groups differed significantly from what could be expected by chance in their patterns of response. A probability level of .05 or less was considered statistically significant.

The findings revealed that differences were more significant in some dimensions of role orientation than in others. For example, the areas in which ethnic origin appears to have the most significant effect was that of motivations. Here, one found sharp differences in the pattern of responses between ethnic groups. Irish and Jewish teachers expressed strong academic and professional motivations with only one exception. This exception consists in the Irish teachers' expressed occupational goals, which were Nurturant rather than Professional, i.e., the majority claimed a preference for counseling or remaining in the high school classroom, rather than advancement in their academic field or college teaching. Although Negro and Italian teachers did not evidence too clear a pattern on this dimension, both groups had a modal orientation for future occupational goals in the Instrumental category, i.e., they hoped to pursue administrative posts or "anything that paid more money." Polish teachers revealed a rather inconsistent pattern of responses in this area. They claimed to have come into teaching for Professional reasons, but then expressed the belief that their teaching rewards came through "helping people" (Nurturant category); they responded to future occupational goals also in the Nurturant category, but then expressed the opinion that if given additional free time at school, they would pursue Professional activities.

The differences within the dimension of Teaching Standards were not as statistically significant as in the previous area. Only in terms of reference group identification did one find marked interethnic differences. Irish and Jewish teachers expressed preference for professional or "self"-principled referents, while Italian, Negro, and Polish teachers chose the student as their reference points. In contrast, when questioned on the function and role of the high school, only Jewish teachers responded in a clear pattern. The Jewish group had a modal orientation in the Professional category, implying that the function of the school is to provide a good academic education. The responses of all other ethnic groups were distributed over each category.

Responses to the third dimension of role orientation, Teaching Performance, indicated greater differences than cultural values but less than motivations. Sharpest differences were found when teachers were asked what they believed to be the most important trait of an effective teacher, and the kind of student that they preferred to teach. On both of these questions, Irish and Jewish teachers responded in the Professional category. The Irish group in particular was overwhelming in claiming that an effective teacher must first have a knowledge of his subject matter, and claiming to prefer "bright" and "gifted" students. Negro and Italian teachers, on the other hand, chose the Nurturant category on teacher trait, expressing the belief that achieving teacher-student rapport was of primary importance. Both groups in turn expressed a preference for the "average" student, an Instrumental choice. The Polish again were divided on these questions, choosing Nurturant teacher traits and then preferring "gifted" students.

On only two questions did all ethnic groups have a modal orientation in the same category. When asked about the kind of student the high schools should produce, all teachers overwhelmingly replied "socially-adjusted." A similar Nurturant consensus was indicated when asked about the evaluation of students' classroom work. Again, the majority expressed a belief that evaluation should take place on the basis of individual growth and development.

In conclusion, the findings indicate that a relationship between ethnic group identification and a pattern of role orientation does in fact exist; thus, our second research question can also be answered in the affirmative. With some ethnic groups, the pattern of role orientation is more sharply defined than with others. For example, Jewish and Irish teachers are quite marked in their Professional orientation, while Italian and Negro teachers, although primarily orienting around the Nurturant category, often distribute their responses over two or three categories. The Polish teachers present a pattern unlike any of the other groups. They constantly shift from a Professional to a Nurturant orientation. This ambiguity is displayed throughout by the Polish group. Although two ethnic groups may be found to have the same over-all pattern of role orientation, usually they are seen to differ when role orientation is explored further within its various dimensions. For example, strong relationships appear to exist between ethnic origins and a teacher's motivations, goals, and reference group identifications. The same holds true for beliefs as to the most effective teacher trait and the type of student they would prefer to teach.

The task of the next chapter is to extend the analysis from ethnic to other socio-cultural variables which are believed to have a bearing upon teachers' role orientation.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONSHIP OF VARIOUS SOCIO-CULTURAL VARIABLES TO ROLE ORIENTATION

The main problem posed by this study was to establish whether teachers in the Chicago high schools would display some specific attitudes toward their occupational role and whether such attitudes would vary in relation to the ethnic origins of the teacher. In the previous chapter, affirmative answers were tentatively given to both of these questions

Since the attitudes of teachers toward occupational role appear to be a function, in part, of early socialization experiences, at this point we will examine some selected socio-cultural background characteristics. Certain variables represent a set of experiences in the early socialization of the teacher that might shed further light on attitudes toward the teaching role. The variables that seem the most promising would include: sex role, socioeconomic origins, social mobility, level and type of education, subject taught, religion, and urban/rural traditions.

The aim of this part of the investigation is to see if certain background factors encourage a particular orientation toward the teaching role. Therefore, each of the variables listed above will be examined independently in an effort to determine if it bears a significant relationship to role orientation. In addition, each of the above background characteristics will be examined as intervening variables within the ethnic matrix.

Because the effects of such background characteristics are not the main topic of this study, the design for the analysis of the relationships between these variables is not of the kind that permits definitive conclusions to be drawn. An effort will be made, however, to suggest how some socio-cultural factors may interact in affecting a teacher's attitudes and presumably his classroom performance. Therefore, the nature of this chapter, as contrasted to previous ones, will be more suggestive in that it attempts to voice questions and possible lines of inquiry for further research.

The first variable considered was the sex role of teachers. It is generally understood in our culture that the early sex-role training emphasizes autonomy and competence for boys and "helping others" for girls. Intellectual pursuits for women are neither encouraged nor rewarded. Therefore one would expect in their approach to occupational role, males to identify with Professional and Instrumental role orientation categories, and females with the Nurturant category.

Since so few of the respondents were in the Instrumental category, only two role orientation categories were contrasted, Professional vs. Nurturant. As shown in Table 34, a significant relationship at the .025 level does in fact exist when the male and female teachers are compared in the above two role-orientation categories.

TABLE 34

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX AND ROLE ORIENTATION[a]
(Number of Individuals Having Seven or More
Answers in a Single Category[b])

Sex	Role Orientation			
	Professional		Nurturant	
Male	27		14	
Female	15		24	
Total	42		38	
Chi square	5.57	DF 1	p < .025	

[a] Since so few of the respondents were in the Instrumental category, only two role-orientation categories were contrasted, Professional vs. Nurturant. In the following tables, a "median" test was used for the chi squares. This implies that for Tables 34 to 42 only two role-orientation categories were contrasted, Professional vs. Nurturant.

[b] Nineteen individuals did not have seven or more answers in any one category.

But if one examines the relationship of sex role and occupational role orientation within the ethnic matrix one finds sex differences in only two of the ethnic groups. (See Table 35.) Only among Irish and Jewish teachers are there sharp differences in role orientation between male and female respondents. Seventy-four per cent of the professionally-oriented male teachers in the total sample can be found in the above two ethnic groups.

In an effort to determine further if significant differences could be found between the sexes within the dimensions of role orientation, cross tabulations were made between male and female teachers on all of the fourteen questions. The question concerning future

TABLE 35

RELATIONSHIP OF SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN TO ROLE ORIENTATION
(Number of Individuals Having Seven or More
Answers in a Single Category[a])

Ethnic Group	Role Orientation						Total
	Professional		Nurturant		Instrumental		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Irish	9	1	1	4	0	0	15
Polish	2	6	2	3	2	0	15
Italian	3	3	5	4	1	0	16
Negro	2	1	4	5	2	1	15
Jewish	11	2	0	5	0	0	18
Other	0	2	2	3	1	0	8
Total	27[b]	15	14	24	6	1	87[a]

[a] Nineteen individuals did not have seven or more answers in any one category.

[b] Comment: Out of the 27 Professional males: Irish 9, Jewish 11.

occupational goals was the only one to reveal differences on the basis of sex role. The responses of males were divided between the Professional and Instrumental categories while the females expressed occupational goals in the Nurturant category (see Table 36). In other words, only on the question of future occupational goals did one find the anticipated differences in attitude between the sexes.

Although a difference between the role orientation of the sexes does appear to exist when the Professional and Nurturant role-orientation categories are contrasted, when examined within the ethnic context, one finds that the difference can be attributed to only

TABLE 36

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX AND ROLE ORIENTATION

Question #3: If you get the opportunity you would like, what do you expect to be doing five to ten years from now? (Total Sample)

Sex	Role Orientation			Total
	Professional	Nurturant	Instrumental	
Male	20	12	22	54
Female	16	28	8	52
Total	36	40	30	106
Chi square	13.34	DF 2	$p < .005$	

two ethnic groups, the Irish and Jewish. Within the other ethnic groups a marked sex-difference in role orientation does not appear to exist.

The next variable to be considered is socioeconomic origin of the teachers. It had been anticipated that teachers coming from middle-middle to upper-middle socioeconomic backgrounds would orient toward the Professional category; teachers coming from the lower-middle and upper-lower strata would orient toward the Instrumental or possibly the Nurturant category.

Our findings in this sample do not support the above hypothesis. Membership in a social class does not appear to have a direct effect upon role orientation. Polish, Italian, and Jewish teachers have a high proportion of their groups originating in the lower class.[1]

---

[1] Since the parents of almost 50 per cent of the teachers were foreign-born, it was not possible to evaluate parental education; therefore, occupation of father or guardian became the only means of determining socioeconomic origins. See Appendix for occupational ratings.

Yet, it has been noted that the Jewish group displays a high Professional orientation, while the Polish vary between Professional and Nurturant, and the Italian teachers are strongly Nurturant oriented. The Negro and Irish teachers originate in the main from the middle class. Although the Irish do orient toward the Professional category, the Negro group evidences a Nurturant and Instrumental orientation. Therefore, one finds ethnic groups whose members are predominantly in the lower class with Professional orientations, and groups whose members are primarily in the middle class with Nurturant orientations.

In examining the direct relationship between socioeconomic origins and role orientation, i.e., comparing those respondents with middle-class origins who chose seven or more of the questions in Professional and Nurturant categories, with those originating in the lower class and who chose these two categories, the difference is not significant. On the basis of this data, therefore, it is doubtful whether there is any direct relationship between socioeconomic status origins and role orientation (see Table 37).

The next variable to be examined was intergenerational mobility. Mobility was measured by comparing the father's or guardian's occupation at the time that the teacher was growing up with the teacher's present socioeconomic status, which in this study was ranked as middle-middle. According to this criterion of mobility, 76 per cent had been upwardly mobile, while 7 per cent had moved downward and 17 per cent of the teachers had not changed their socioeconomic position. In an effort to determine whether a direct relationship exists between

TABLE 37

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIOECONOMIC ORIGINS AND ROLE ORIENTATION
(Number of Individuals Having Seven or More Answers in a Single Category)

Socioeconomic Origins	Role Orientation	
	Professional	Nurturant
Middle class (upper-middle and lower-middle)	19	21
Lower class (upper-lower and middle-lower)	23	17
Total	42	38
Chi square	.80 N.S.	

social mobility and role orientation, the two dominant orientations--Professional and Nurturant--were again contrasted (see Table 38).

TABLE 38

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY AND ROLE ORIENTATION

Mobility	Role Orientation	
	Professional	Nurturant
Upward	33	25
Downward - none	9	13
Total	42	38
Chi square	1.63 N.S.	

A statistical difference does not appear to differentiate upward mobile from downward mobile or stable teachers as to attitudes toward the teaching job. This latter statement should perhaps be qualified in that, although not significant, a certain trend seems indicated in the table. Upward mobile teachers tend to be found more often in the Professional category than downward mobile and stationary teachers. If the sample included more individuals in the downward mobile group, perhaps the differences in the table would have attained significance.

A further probing was made to determine if there were differences between those teachers who had made the less significant move from lower-middle to middle-middle, and those who had moved into middle-class status from the lower class. Again, degree of mobility did not appear to be a determining factor in role orientation differences (see Table 39).

TABLE 39

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UPWARD MOBILITY AND ROLE ORIENTATION

Upward Mobility	Role Orientation	
	Professional	Nurturant
Lower-middle origins	10	8
Middle and upper-lower origins	23	17
Total	33	25
Chi square	.64 N.S.	

The next variable explored was the level and type of education received by the teachers. More than half held M.A. degrees, and some had gone on to do further graduate work. In contrasting the role orientations of teachers who had achieved an M.A. with those who had received a B.A. degree, no significant differences were found (see Table 40).

TABLE 40

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND ROLE ORIENTATION

Level of Education	Role Orientation	
	Professional	Nurturant
B.A.	17	19
M.A.	25	19
Total	42	38
Chi square	.73 N.S.	

Upon examining the various ethnic groups, however, interethnic differences were found on the level of education achieved by the teachers. Among Irish and Negro teachers, 30 - 35 per cent had an M.A. degree; in contrast, among Jewish, Italian, and Polish teachers, 60 - 70 per cent had M.A. degrees, and some had done graduate work beyond. So here one finds Irish teachers with a relatively low level of education holding a primary Professional orientation, while the Italian group, with a relatively high level of education, expressing a primarily Nurturant orientation. These data suggest that level of education does not necessarily determine the teacher's orientation toward the teaching role.

However, when type of education among the Catholic teachers was explored, a suggestive pattern emerged. Teachers educated in parochial secondary schools had a stronger Professional orientation than the ones educated in public schools. The ethnic group with the highest proportion of teachers who had attended Catholic parochial institutions had also the strongest Professional orientation. Among the Catholic groups, the Irish ranked highest in the Professional category, and they also ranked highest in parochial school attendance (80 per cent). The Italians, with a primary Nurturant orientation, ranked lowest in parochial school attendance. The Polish were divided in their primary role orientation and they were also evenly divided in the number of teachers who had attended parochial and public schools. In order to check further to determine if a relationship does in fact exist between parochial school education and a Professional role orientation, the data in Table 41 were examined.

TABLE 41

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ROLE ORIENTATION AMONG CATHOLICS[a]

Type of School	Role Orientation	
	Professional	Nurturant and Instrumental
Parochial	18	12
Public	6	13
Total	24	25
Chi square	3.83 $P < .05$	

[a] For this comparison the Nurturant group was too small to permit a "median" test, therefore, the latter category was combined with the Instrumental one in order to permit a contrast with the Professional category. Moreover, what was wanted of the table was a comparison of Professional orientations with the other two types.

The table indicates that a significant relationship does in fact exist between type of education and primary role orientation. However, it must be recognized that other variables, related to ethnicity and socioeconomic status, intervene in determining the number of youth within the Catholic groups that attended parochial schools.

Other aspects related to type of education also appeared to suggest some relationship with role orientation. For example, a large percentage of the Negroes had received their entire education in the South, and those who had obtained their education in the North had attended teachers' colleges rather than liberal arts colleges. Negro teachers were primarily oriented toward the Nurturant category, with strong overtones of the Instrumental. On the other hand, all Jewish teachers had received a liberal arts education and this group was strongest in the Professional orientation. Although we have no specific data to support a claim for a relationship between these two different types of educational experience and the teacher's attitude, the trend can be mentioned as a possible lead into further research.

Subject Taught

The subject taught by a teacher is often considered a contributing factor toward his role orientation. Therefore, an effort was made to determine the existence of a relationship between specific subject matter taught and role orientation in this sample. As indicated in Table 42, when the three major areas of subject-matter taught are contrasted with Professional and Nurturant role orientations, no significant difference is found. The data do suggest, however, a slight difference between teachers of social studies when contrasted with teachers in other areas of subject-matter.

Thus the findings in this sample suggest that role orientation is more a function of membership in an ethnic group than subject taught.

The choice of subject to be taught may itself be partly a function of ethnic origins.

TABLE 42

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SUBJECT TAUGHT AND ROLE ORIENTATION
(Number of Individuals Having Seven or More Answers in a Single Category)

Subject Taught	Role Orientation	
	Professional	Nurturant[a]
Humanities--English, language	13	14
Social studies--history	16	6
Math--physical and biological science	13	16
Total	42	36
Chi square	4.77 DF 2	N.S.

[a]Not included in the Nurturant category were two teachers who taught subjects other than the three areas listed.

Religion

As mentioned earlier in this report, since the Protestants in this sample were predominantly Negro it was not possible to make a meaningful comparison between Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups. However, since the Catholics constitute more than half of the sample, it was possible to make comparisons between the three Catholic groups (Irish, Polish, and Italian).

Our data would seem to support Greeley's hypothesis that ethnicity is still a factor to be considered in the study of American Catholics and that it is not possible to combine Irish, Polish, and Italian teachers into one category on the basis of their common religion. Historical and cultural differences cannot be ignored. In the present study, each of these groups presented a different role orientation pattern. The primary orientation of the Irish was Professional, the Italian was Nurturant, and the Polish vacillated between the Professional and Nurturant role-orientation categories.

As far as our data permitted us to explore this problem, it would appear that Catholicism per se does not have a direct relationship to role orientation. Religion becomes important only in connection with other factors such as the ethnic groups' relationship to the church, and policies for sending the youth to Catholic educational institutions.

Urban/Rural Traditions (Generation American)

This study confirmed the observations made by numerous authors previously quoted in this paper, i.e., ethnic groups with urban traditions place a higher value upon academic excellence and intellectual pursuits than do ethnic groups with peasant or rural traditions. Irish and Polish teachers were mostly third generation American, both groups orienting to the Professional category, although the Polish to a lesser degree than the Irish. The majority of the Italians were second generation Americans and the primary orientation of this group was Nurturant.

However, length of residence in this country could not always be used as a criteria for urban/rural traditions of the particular ethnic group. Jewish teachers, for example, were primarily second generation; however, as pointed out before, Jewish immigrants came to the United States from small towns and cities, imbued with urban traditions. In contrast, Negro teachers were largely descendants of southern-born parents who had not been acculturated in the industrial urban traditions of the North. Therefore, it would appear that urban/rural traditions have their roots in the socio-cultural experiences of the ethnic group and in order to become meaningful, should be examined in that deeper context.

With the exception of type of education received by the teachers, none of these early socialization variables appears to have a one-to-one relationship with the attitude of the teachers toward the teaching role. The next section will examine each of these variables within the context of the various ethnic groups in an effort to gain some further insight into their patterns of role orientation.

The Irish Teacher

Role orientation

The over-all pattern of responses given by Irish teachers seems to indicate that their primary role identification was a Professional one. What background characteristics, related to the ethnic subculture could account for this prevalent orientation? And perhaps more important, what characteristics in the Irish subculture seem relevant to explain attitudes in some specific areas of the teaching role?

For example, the goals of the Irish teachers were Nurturant. They expressed desires to remain in the high school classroom, or, although reluctantly, to go into administration. No Irish teacher chose college teaching as an avenue for advancement.

They did not hold clear-cut views as to the function of the high school. Their responses were distributed over the four categories.

Why their strong responses in the Professional category on the two questions concerned with important teacher traits and teacher-student relationships, whereas on the question of discipline they responded in the Instrumental category?

Irish teachers of the two sexes differed sharply in their orientation to the teaching role. Out of the eleven Irish males in the sample, nine responded primarily in the Professional orientation. In contrast, only one out of the nine female Irish teachers responded in the Professional category, the balance was found primarily in the Nurturant category.

There was little difference in the early background characteristics of the male and female Irish teachers that could explain this variation in orientation to occupational role. Sixty-five per cent of the Irish teachers were third and fourth generation American, therefore, both sexes had been exposed to an urban environment, as well as similar educational backgrounds. It is possible that the Irish as a group have assimilated much of the American culture, particularly the norms for masculine and feminine behavior. The American culture has emphasized the nurturant aspect of the female role.

It is to find explanations for such attitudes that we shall probe early socio-cultural characteristics. However, it must be repeated that the tentative answers to these questions can only be suggestive.

Education

Sixty-five per cent of the Irish teachers had a B.A. as their highest degree. Within the total sample, only 45 per cent of the teachers were in this category. Among the five ethnic groups, the Irish ranked fourth in level of education.

Eighty per cent had attended parochial high schools, and 90 per cent had gone to a Catholic college or university. The majority of women attended St. Xavier or Mundelein, while the majority of men attended Loyola or De Paul. Only one Irish teacher had gone to Chicago Teachers College, and another had done part of his work at the University of Illinois but had finished at De Paul. Eighty to 90 per cent of the Irish teachers had received their secondary and teacher training education in Catholic educational institutions. The majority of these Catholic teachers had received their entire education in the city of Chicago.

Forty per cent had decided to become teachers while in college; 20 per cent went through school on the G. I. Bill.

Since such a large percentage of the Irish teachers had not gone beyond the B.A. degree, it would seem to indicate that their Professional attitudes to the teaching role in general cannot be accounted for in terms of their level of education. However, the relatively low level of education may have some relationship to the lack of professional occupational goals for the Irish group. Both the relatively low level of education and the Nurturant orientation to occupational goals may flow from a similar, more basic ethnic characteristic.

Apparently, level of education alone does not bear a simple relationship to the teacher's role orientation. What may have greater possibilities for explaining their orientation is the type of education. The Irish teachers had a larger number educated in Catholic institutions than any of the other Catholic groups. They also evidenced stronger Professional orientations than any of the other Catholic teachers. It is possible that "parochial discipline" encourages characteristics that are defined in this study as professionalism.

The Catholic schools have failed to assume many of the characteristics of progressive education, such as the emphasis upon the "individual" and "life adjustment." They have continued to teach the traditional curriculum emphasizing subject matter. Teachers in Catholic schools traditionally receive much higher status than teachers in public schools. The emphasis upon subject matter, plus the quality of teacher-student relationship, may foster a more professional orientation among the teachers who have attended Catholic educational institutions. This may help explain the overwhelming responses in the Professional orientation among the Irish Catholics to questions dealing with teacher traits and teacher-student relationships.

The above suggestions may possibly explain the general trend of answers given in the Professional category by the Irish teachers. The argument offered does not help to interpret the predominantly Nurturant pattern of responses to goal orientation. It is believed that this pattern can best be explained in terms of a constellation of ethnic characteristics affecting education but having a root in socioeconomic factors peculiar to this particular Catholic group. Therefore, its discussion will be resumed in a later section dealing with ethnic traditions.

Religion

Eighty-five per cent of the teachers were Catholic and claimed to be actively practicing their faith. Many claimed they had stronger ties with the Church than their parents did, particularly in regard to church attendance. As one young Irish girl who attends religious services two or three times a week explained:

> My father has never attended church regularly. My mother has been the religious one, but I attend services more often than she does. I go at least two or three times a week, and I used to go more often than this. You have to recognize that I went to a Catholic grammar school, high school, and college. And during that period I attended church daily [No. 36].

The teachers generally attributed this generational difference of Church ties to their Catholic school education. An Irish teacher of foreign-born parentage expressed it in the following manner:

> I would say as far as the simple acceptance of the faith is concerned my mother and father would have more. But you see, they very seldom go to communion, and I go to communion at least once a week. Part of the reason for this is that they were raised a little differently. I don't know whether you are familiar with this, but the Irish Catholics were under the influence of "Jansenism." This was a puritan-type influence in Ireland. They felt they were unworthy to receive communion regularly unless they went through the whole rigamarole of confession first. So, as I say, my parents weren't raised with the idea of going to communion. Under the influence of the parochial school, I was. In this respect we are different in the way we approach religion. I probably question things more than they did. They more or less accepted what their priest said. I'm afraid I don't accept it quite that way [No. 48].

Practicing Catholicism, alone, does not seem to be a determinant of role orientation, as we will see later among the other Catholic groups--the Polish and Italian. It is rather the particular ethnic identification and relationship with the Church which eventuates in specific role attitudes. The relationship of the Irish to the

Catholic Church appears to encourage a tradition of Catholic education for their youth which, as was pointed out earlier, may directly affect role orientation.

Socioeconomic status

More than half of the Irish teachers originated in the middle class, the largest number being in the lower-middle. Within the total sample they ranked second only to the Negroes in frequency of middle-class origins. Among the Catholic groups they ranked first in this status level. This factor might also contribute to the high percentage of Irish youth who receive their education in Catholic institutions. The middle-class outlook could also be a contributing factor to their Professional orientation.

Although more than 50 per cent of the Irish teachers were of middle-class origins and displayed Nurturant occupational goal orientations, the sample indicated that according to our objective mobility measurements, 80 per cent of the Irish group had moved upward in their socioeconomic status. Of course, since this study placed the high school teacher in the middle-middle social class status, many of those from lower-middle origins made upward strides. In respect to mobility the Irish did not differ from the other Catholic groups, nor, for that matter, did they differ substantially from the other two groups. Therefore, it would appear that in this sample role orientation does not vary with social mobility.

Urban/rural traditions (generation American)

Seventy per cent of the Irish teachers were children of native-born parentage. Therefore, this group has had a long tradition of urbanization. Their parents and possibly their grandparents have been exposed to urban living and education in America.

As Thomas and Znaniecki observed in 1920, and others have done since, urban life serves as a stimulus for the development of intellectual interests. The break with the narrow circle of the primary group and the possibilities for new experiences, plus the acculturation process which takes place in a complex industrial urban community, creates desires and demands for education. Although there are many encompassing aspects of ethnic life among the Irish, being third and fourth generation, they have assimilated much of the urban life around them. It is possible that this factor also contributes to the high level of Professional orientation among Irish teachers as contrasted to the other Catholic groups.

Ethnic identification and traditions

Irish teachers and their parents had a lower degree of ethnic identification than any of the groups examined in this study. Group identification was more strongly centered upon the Catholic Church than on their Irish origins.

When Irish teachers were asked the question about intrafaith endogamy, 90 per cent claimed that marriage within the Catholic religion was of the utmost importance. When asked about endogamy within their ethnic group, the Irish teacher dismissed it as unimportant. One single male went so far as to say that he would definitely not marry an Irish girl, stating: "I don't like the Irish. I think they are liars, pompous, and bigoted. I just don't like them." But he went on to add, with a gleam in his eye, "yet I still identify myself as Irish" (No. 69).

Despite their dismissal of the importance of marriage within the ethnic group, of the eight Irish married teachers, seven had Irish mates. According to one Irish teacher with an Irish husband, five children with Irish names, and who lived in an Irish community, "I think nationality is in the background when you are living in the United States" (No. 33).

Another female Irish teacher, married to an Irish Catholic, explained it in the following manner: "It wouldn't have made any difference if he were not Irish, I still would have married him." But she went on to point out that she lived in an Irish community, belonged to an Irish church, and all of her neighbors and friends were Irish. There was really very little opportunity for her to meet any one that was not Irish Catholic.

Another female Irish teacher expressed a similar point of view:

> Most of the friends of my parents are from their home town in Ireland. We've always lived in an Irish community. As a matter of fact, I'm still living in the same community where I grew up, and now I'm living their with my family. Sure, most of my friends are Irish Catholics. So is my husband. I don't pick my friends because they're Irish Catholic. I didn't pick my husband because of that. It just happened that way. But then, don't forget, I've lived in this community all my life. I've gone to nothing but Irish Catholic schools. It would be strange if I chose my friends and my husband from any place else [No. 29].

In his study of racial, religious, and national groups, Milton Gordon comments upon this all-encompassing aspect of ethnic life:

> Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all their primary relationships and some of their

> secondary relationships through all the stages of the life cycle. . . . In addition, some of the basic institutional activities of the larger society become either completely or in part ethnically enclosed. . . . Education becomes ethnically enclosed to the extent "Parochial school" school systems are utilized.[1]

Gordon goes on to point out that in crossing ethnic group lines, one risks becoming "marginal." The individual who engages in frequent and sustained primary contacts across ethnic group lines, according to Gordon, runs the risk of becoming a "marginal man."[2]

While the Irish teachers in this sample proclaimed little identification with their ethnic group, few crossed religious or ethnic lines. Ethnic identification appeared to be centered around their religious identification. This strong identification with the Catholic Church might be the factor that would account for the large percentage of Irish teachers educated in Catholic schools.

Therefore, direct effects of ethnic traditions on role orientation were not evident in this sample. Rather, the particular relationship of the Irish to their Church, with its effects on the type of schooling and the resultant attitudes, contributes to these teachers' outlook on their occupation.

The frequently heard charge of anti-intellectualism among American Catholics, supposedly rooted in a lack of intellectual traditions, has been stressed both outside and within the Catholic community. Thomas F. O'Dea, formerly at Fordham, refers to this relative absence of Catholic scholars and intellectual traditions as the dilemma of American Catholics. He points out:

> The American Catholic group has failed to produce . . . both quali-

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[1] Gordon, op. cit., pp. 34-35. [2] Ibid., p. 56.

> tatively and quantitatively an appropriate intellectual life. It has failed to evolve in this country a vital intellectual tradition displaying vigor and creativity in proportion to the numerical strength of American Catholics. It has also failed to produce intellectual and other national leaders in numbers appropriate to its size and resources.[1]

Notre Dame sociologist John J. Kane speaks of a "lower-class" orientation to education and occupation among Catholics, which he believes tends to "anchor them in the lower socioeconomic groups."[2]

We find within this small sample of Irish teachers indications both of a denial and a confirmation of the above charges. The predominant Professional orientation among the Irish group would appear to deny the charge of anti-intellectualism at least among the Irish Catholics. Yet, other threads, such as the Nurturant occupational goal orientation of the Irish teachers and the relatively low level of educational achievement, would tend to confirm the above statements.

Perhaps an explanation for this contradiction can be found in Andrew Greeley's observations on a recent survey made by the National Opinion Research Center, comparing contemporary graduates of Catholic colleges and graduates of other colleges. While the investigation was not concerned directly with Catholic anti-intellectual traditions, it revealed, according to Greeley, little evidence to support the anti-intellectual hypothesis. Graduates of Catholic colleges were no less likely to go to graduate school, and they were more likely to see the purpose of education as intellectual. Greeley argues that the hypothesis might have been true when it was first advanced but that the drastic social changes in the last decade and a half now make it necessary to re-evaluate the anti-intellectualism theory among American Catholics.[1]

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[1] Thomas F. O'Dea, American Catholic Dilemma (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), pp. 35-36.

[2] John J. Kane, "The Social Structure of American Catholics," The American Catholic Sociological Review, XVI, No. 4 (March, 1955), 30.

Greeley contends that an explanation for the emergence of the potential Catholic scholar in the 1950's and the 1960's can be attributed to the social changes and also to differential immigrant group acculturation. In analyzing the NORC investigations, he found evidence that even when socioeconomic status and generation were controlled there were still differences on certain intellectual and value indicators between descendants of Catholic immigrants of the first wave (Irish and German) and descendants of immigrants of the second wave (Italian and Slavic). From this he suggests that "the ethnic factor might still be of considerable importance in American society and that the apparent change in intellectualism indicators among American Catholics is largely the result of acculturation of the first wave groups."[2]

Greeley concludes that ethnicity and the differential cultural origins which it implies are "tenacious elements in the American culture and do not necessarily vanish with the passage of time or the making of money."

A large majority of the Irish teachers in this study have come into teaching within the past five years and, therefore, are products of these Catholic educational changes within the past decade and a half to which Greeley refers. They are also third generation American. These factors, plus the large number who attended Catholic schools, could account for the Professional orientation of the Irish Catholic teachers and the differences between the other Catholic groups which we shall examine later.

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[1] Andrew M. Greeley, "The Influence of Religion on the Career Plans and Occupational Values of June, 1961 College Graduates" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962), pp. 366-367.

[2] Ibid., p. 146.

Greeley speaks of the present period as "transitional"; as such, one cannot expect to find consistency in all aspects of the changes. This may account for the Irish teachers' inconsistency in indicating an over-all Professional orientation while still reflecting old values in their low level of education and occupational goals.

The Polish Teacher

Role orientation

Polish teachers divided evenly between Category I and II in their responses to the fourteen questions. Among teachers who had selected seven or more questions in any category, there was a modal orientation in Category I; but in examining the responses to each question separately a greater number was predominantly answers in Category II. One of the traits that appears to stand out among the Polish teachers is this lack of consistency in their choices and the constant shifting between the two categories, often in the same area of response. For example, regarding motivations, the majority of teachers claimed to have entered teaching for Professional reasons, yet expressed the view that working and helping young people brought them the greatest satisfaction in teaching. As another example in this same area, they chose nurturant goals and aspirations; yet, if they had free time, they claimed they would spend it in further study of the subject matter.

In their responses to questions related to standards for teaching, the Polish teachers consistently chose students as a reference group; however, they again displayed inconsistencies in answering the other questions in this area.

Within the dimension concerned with teaching performance, the Polish teachers again moved back and forth between Category I and II.

Polish teachers were less consistent in their role orientation pattern than were the Irish. While they cannot be characterized as primarily choosing any one given category, they can be described as falling between Category I and II, with a slightly stronger preference for the Professional category

Here again we will seek explanation for this inconsistent pattern in various socio-cultural characteristics.

Education

Sixty-one per cent of the Polish teachers had an M.A. as their highest degree. Within the total sample Polish and Italian teachers ranked substantially above Irish and below Jewish teachers in level of education. The contrast between the educational level of Irish and Polish teachers was quite sharp: Only 35 per cent of the Irish group had received a graduate degree.

Fifty per cent of the Polish teachers had been educated in parochial high schools and fifty per cent in public schools. Sixty-six per cent had gone to Catholic colleges and universities, the rest attended lay liberal arts colleges or Chicago Teachers' College.

Fifty-six per cent of the Polish teachers had decided to become teachers while in high school; none had gone through college on the G. I. Bill.

The large percentage of Polish teachers with M.A. degrees would again suggest that level of education did not bear upon role orientation, while the type of education might have some bearing upon the teacher's orientation. More than half of the teachers had gone to parochial schools, and if, as was suggested with the Irish, this relates to a Professional role orientation, it may help to explain the split between Professional and Nurturant responses among the Polish teachers.

Religion

Ninety-four per cent of the Polish teachers were Catholic. Only one teacher claimed to be a "non-believer." Some described themselves as "devout" Catholics; others used the term "fall away" Catholics. In referring to the religious activities of their parents, the father was usually described as being less religious than the mother. The father was more often closely allied to the Polish community, while the mother identified with the Church. The Church and the Polish community were separate entities. This was a distinction one did not find among the Irish. However, many of the churches held their services in Polish.

Some of the teachers claimed that they attended church more often than their parents. This was particularly true of those who had attended Catholic educational institutions. As one young Polish girl explained it:

> I have more knowledge because of my education. I've had more religious education and because I understand some of the basic concepts of religion, I have found a greater appreciation of it than my parents had, particularly my father [No. 73].

A male Polish teacher who had once studied for the priesthood, in comparing his education with that of his father in Poland, pointed out:

> My father received all of his education in Poland and the education of the Polish people was less religious than it was over here. Education there has always been inadequate and religious education has been even more so [No. 87].

Others spoke of attending church because it was "traditional" or "mother expected it." A few referred to the religious curriculum in the parochial school as being a factor in encouraging their church attendance.

Since the Polish Catholics were indecisive in their role orientation, it would again indicate that being a member of the Catholic religion would not necessarily determine a teacher's orientation to his role. The relationship of the ethnic group to the Catholic Church appears to be a stronger factor, particularly for those with a tradition of parochial school education for the young.

Socioeconomic status

Seventy-three per cent of the Polish teachers came from the lower socioeconomic strata. They had the largest percentage from lower class origins of all the ethnic groups studied in this sample.

It had been anticipated that ethnic groups whose origins today are considered low on the status scale would be oriented toward the Instrumental category. However, this did not occur among the Polish teachers. Therefore, socioeconomic status alone does not seem to be enough to provide an explanation for the role orientation of the Polish teachers, although it is possible that other factors closely related to socioeconomic status could impinge upon occupational role orientation. For example, access to midd-class occupations might be more limited for the youth coming from the lower soci economic groups. Therefore, in order to move into a middle-class oc cupation, many of the youth might choose teaching without being too highly committed to the teaching role. Earlier in this study we com mented upon the possibility that those teachers who do not indicate clearly patterned role orientation may not be too highly committed t the teaching role. This could account for the inconsistencies in th pattern of responses among Polish teachers.

When we come to generational mobility measured objectively, almost 90 per cent of the Polish teachers were found to be upwardly mobile. Although social mobility did not vary to any great extent among the ethnic groups, the Polish had the highest frequency of upward mobility. Subjectively measured, only 67 per cent of the Polis teachers believed they had made upward gains. The highest degree o discrepancy between objective and subjective mobility was displayed by the Polish teachers.

Again, there is the possibility that ethnic groups may view socioeconomic levels differently. This was indicated by the respon of a young Polish girl who strongly identified with middle-class cu ture. She was living alone with her mother in a storeroom which ha been converted into living quarters. The home, which consisted of one large room, had a bed in one corner, a large table in the center, and a bookcase on the side. The respondent claimed that she had been born in this room. Her father had abandoned her mother when respondent was quite small. Her mother, the main wage-earner, was a grocery clerk. Yet this teacher placed her early background on a middle-class socioeconomic level. Perhaps the fact that her parents were native-born and that she was teaching at the same high school from which she had graduated, affected her strong middle-class identification.

Many of them spoke of the parental pressures for upward movement, placing a strong emphasis upon education. One female teacher mimicked her father, who had nagged her to "get an education. It's important that you do not end up in the steel mills like I have" (31). Another spoke of her mother's constant pressure, who would say, "I want you to be better than I was." Both of her parents held the position of teacher in high esteem and would brag about her to their friends and family. This young unmarried Polish teacher apparently felt that she had fulfilled their expectations and had moved up the scale, summing it up in the following manner:

> Sure, I have many things my parents never had, such as an education, a job, a good salary, and a car. I have even furnished my own room and have a record player [No. 46].

One thirty-one year old male Polish teacher, who was still living with his parents in the home in which he had been born, had made of his own room a little island within the household. He had filled his room with books, desk, typewriter, and a hi-fi set. Stepping out of his room into the rest of the living quarters was like stepping out of the modern world into the old world. The community in which he lived was Polish. Apparently, he had a high status within the home and the community. He proudly announced, "you know, among the Polish people to be a teacher is a pretty high status" (101).

Therefore, among Polish teachers, low socioeconomic origins and high mobility rate do not seem to offer an explanation for the role orientation of the members in that ethnic group. The lack of access to middle-class occupations may, however, have some bearing on the inconsistent pattern displayed by the Polish group.

Generation American

Sixty-one per cent of the Polish teachers were third generation American. Thus, one finds among this group a longer exposure to urbanization. If this were indeed a stimulus to intellectual development, one would expect to find the Polish teachers largely in the Professional category. However, they were divided in their orientation, although a little stronger in Category I. Therefore, urban traditions do suggest some bearing upon role orientation, but other factors, possibly ethnic, impinge upon the effect of urbanization.

Ethnic identification and traditions

Both parental and respondent's ethnic identification were in the main moderate. A few of the teachers spoke of the ethnic rejection of their parents, who had been children of Polish immigrants. One young female teacher, in commenting upon parental ethnic rejection, said:

> My father has lived in a Polish community all his life, yet, he

> has never identified with it. As a matter of fact, he wanted to forget about being Polish. He would always insist that we talk English in the home. He would say, "I'm tired of being called a dumb Polock" [No. 71].

None of the Polish teachers interviewed in this study rejected their ethnic background. Some even spoke of a renewed national interest. The teacher quoted above reflected this point of view when she said:

> I would have loved to have learned the language. I'm sort of envious of those who learn the mother tongue of their parents. I'm rather proud of being Polish. I think we have a great history, but my father doesn't feel that way. As a matter of fact, he even changed our name. The name I have now is shortened and doesn't sound Polish. I wouldn't mind using the long Polish name, but he would raise a terrific row and there is too much involved. But I rather like being considered Polish [No. 71].

Interest in the Polish language and culture was displayed by a number of second and third generation teachers. A married male teacher, who was closely identified with the Polish National Alliance, claimed that he would not allow his children to speak anything other than Polish in the home. Another unmarried male, who had lived in the South Chicago Polish community all of his life and whose father worked in the steel mills, expressed a love and enjoyment for the Polish language and customs. He stated:

> My brothers and I are attempting to revitalize some of the Polish customs and traditions. I am reading all the books I can get on Polish history and culture [No. 60].

Some of the teachers who had gone to parochial school pointed out that the school required students to study the language of their ancestry. Therefore, they could not only speak Polish but could also read and write the language fluently.

The influence of the Polish language was reflected in the speech of many of the Polish teachers. Instead of the normative voiced or unvoiced "th" at the beginning of a word, they would use the allophone "d." This was apparent even among teachers of English. That this variant may be perpetuated in schools in the Polish communities was indicated by a young Polish girl who spoke regretfully of never having learned the language, yet spoke with this same accent.

Marriage within the religious group was deemed important by the majority of the teachers interviewed. When asked about marriage within their ethnic group, the Polish teachers dismissed this as being unimportant. Yet, here again, one found that marriage did take place either within the ethnic group or a closely related Slavic group. The following was a characteristic response:

> The only reason I believe it is important to marry within your religious group would be the raising of the children. A controversy might arise because of that. I am glad I happened to marry a Catholic, but this was only by chance. I used to date fellows from all faiths. As far as ethnic groups are concerned, I believe that makes little difference. That's mattering less and less. I think religion means less today, too. But yet, as I told you, I married a Polish Catholic boy [No. 34].

Recent ethnic group studies have not included Polish-American communities. There appears to be no major study made since the extensive one by Thomas and Znaniecki in the 1920's. That the Polish community still exerts an influence over its third generation members is shown by the reactions of the Polish teachers interviewed in this study.

The Polish immigrant was described by Thomas and Znaniecki as coming from the "uneducated peasantry," and brought with him a traditional lack of intellectual interests. There is an awareness among the young Polish teachers of this educational tradition. One referred to it in the following manner:

> My parents urged my brother and I to obtain a college education. They encouraged and helped us all along the way. They both had a great deal of respect for education.

Then she went on to emphasize, "this is not characteristic of most Polish Catholic parents" (No. 31).

Another Polish teacher, who taught in a school whose student population was predominantly from the lower-middle class Slavic groups which included a large proportion of Polish students, stated:

> They're not academically minded. Their background doesn't provide them with this. Their sense of values does not include the value of education. Their home background has not helped them on this. As soon as they get a little more money, they buy nicer homes and cars [No. 78].

Teaching at the same school, another Polish teacher pointed to the parental influence on the youth with regard to the value of education, and said:

> Their fathers have gotten by, by working hard with no education and they see no sense in their kids becoming scholars. So these kids are obedient, docile students, conformists in the main. This is a reflection of their foreign background, I am sure [No. 77].

It is not possible to find a systematic role-orientation pattern for the Polish teachers. Their responses indicate an equal distribution between the Professional and Nurturant categories, with the former having a slight edge. What subcultural characteristics could account for this inconsistent pattern?

The data suggest that there is an inconsistency in subcultural traits resulting in an inconsistent pattern of role orientation. For example, the majority of the Polish teachers have their origins in the lower socioeconomic statuses, and have an exceedingly high mobility rate. They also belong to an ethnic group which traditionally has not held intellectual pursuits in high esteem. These factors would suggest an orientation toward the Nurturant and Instrumental categories. On the other hand, Polish teachers are mostly third generation American, more than half have attended parochial schools, and have a much higher level of education than the Irish. These factors would suggest an orientation toward the Professional category.

Taking into consideration these contradicting influences, perhaps we can understand the inconsistent pattern of role orientation among Polish teachers. They display what Thomas Znaniecki referred to as faith in "intellectual pursuits"; but as Greeley points out, the Polish were descendants of the "second wave" of immigrants and as such their intellectual values are not as strong as those of the Irish, who were part of the "first wave."

Another ethnic characteristic that might encourage an orientation other than Professional among the Polish teachers would be their high degree of ethnic identification, not found among the Irish. As mentioned above, traditionally the Polish immigrant did not hold intellectual development in high esteem. This may be one of the "tenacious ethnic elements" which Greeley refers to as persisting in the Polish-American culture.

The Italian Teacher

Role orientation

The pattern of responses given by Italian teachers indicated a Nurturant orientation to the teaching role. However, as within the other groups, there were numerous deviations from this primary orientation.

In the dimension of motivations and goals for instance, the Italian group did not show a strong preference for any particular category. Their responses were distributed over all three categories.

The area concerned with standards for teaching elicited a more consistent Nurturant pattern, particularly in the choice of reference group loyalties. A strong Nurturant orientation emerged in response to the question as to the kind of student to be produced by the high school. Ninety per cent of the answers were "socially adjusted."

The teaching performance responses indicated a departure from the Nurturant category in two specific items. The majority of Italian teachers chose the Instrumental category for the kind of student they would prefer to teach: it was the "average" student which they preferred. None of the Italian teachers chose the "under-achiever" in the Nurturant category. And they were divided in their responses to the teacher-student relationship: answers were about evenly distributed over all three categories.

Education

Sixty-three per cent of the Italian teachers had earned an M.A. as the highest degree. Among Catholic teachers, the Italian ranked first in the level of education. Both the Polish and Italian groups ranked above the Irish in level of education.

Fifty-eight per cent of the Italian teachers had attended public schools and 42 per cent parochial schools. Forty-seven per cent of the teachers had received their college education at Catholic colleges and universities.

Forty-two per cent of the Italian teachers had made their decision to become a teacher while in college. Three had participated in the G. I. Bill.

So, here again, we see an indication that level of education does not directly affect attitudes to the teaching role: although the "best" educated of the three Catholic groups, the Italian teachers had the weakest Professional attitudes.

Religion

Ninety-five per cent of the Italian teachers were Catholic. One teacher claimed to be an "atheist." Italian fathers were less closely identified with the church and religious activities than Italian mothers. This tradition is apparently recognized and accepted in the Italian community. One male teacher expressed it as follows:

> Among the Catholic Italian men, they're not too religious. Oh, my father wouldn't eat meat on Friday and he carried out the other rules, but he would never go to church. My mother has always been very active in the church, but my father has never been very active or even gone to church [No. 45].

The respondent in this instance was a third generation male. Apparently, this tradition of males remaining aloof from the church is not being adhered to by the third generation male, because this teacher claimed to be very much involved in church activities. He taught a children's class at his church and, in addition, was an active member of the Holy Name Society, an all-Catholic organization. However, this teacher had gone to a parochial high school and had also taught there for two years.

So here we have a Catholic group displaying still another role orientation, in this instance the Nurturant. We also find that in this sample Italian-Catholics are not as ready to send their youth to

Catholic educational institutions as are the Irish and the Polish groups.

Socioeconomic status

Sixty-four per cent of the Italian teachers came from lower-class origins. They ranked second to the Polish group in frequency originating in the lower socioeconomic strata. Apparently origin in this stratum of society encourages a Nurturant role orientation rather than an Instrumental one, as had been anticipated.

Social mobility measured objectively revealed that 84 per cent of the respondents had achieved upward mobility, while subjectively, only 68 per cent believed they had moved up the social scale. Thirty-two per cent believed they had made no change in their social status. The major reasons given for upward mobility were education and salary; however, many referred to the "high status' of being a teacher. One young female teacher, whose father was a janitor in an office building, described the change in the following manner:

> The difference is my education and the kind of job I have which gives me higher status. I'm on a higher level than my father. And, of course, my job gives me a chance to do certain things they never had a chance to do [No. 106].

Some of the teachers stressed the economic aspect of the changes:

> The difference between my salary and my father's salary is the main reason why I believe I have moved up [No. 65].

Or:

> We were very poor when I was a kid. There was a period when we were on charity. But now I would call myself middle-middle. Look at this beautiful home. I bought it and furnished it with my own money [No..27].

Other Italian teachers referred to the educational aspect as the major reason for their mobility. The daughter of an Italian-born coal miner who now placed herself in the middle-middle socioeconomic level justified her belief in this change in the following manner:

> I base this mainly on the fact that I have received a college education and have gone to school, and I am able to have the kind of friends my parents were never able to have [No. 57].

A young male teacher who was sharing a basement apartment with his parents, the apartment being given to them in return for his father's janitorial services, placed himself as a teacher in the middle-middle, pointing to education as the reason, saying:

> My education is pushing me upward. I think that's what's pushing me up more than anything else [No. 70].

One male Italian teacher with five children ranging from ten months to four years felt that he had moved up to middle-middle on an educational and cultural basis only. His father, to whom he facetiously referred as a "bootlegger," owned a tavern and was earning far more than he was. He explained his point of view as follows:

> I'm not kidding you. My old man owned a tavern and did bootlegging on the side. I would place him in the lower middle and myself in the middle middle. The only reason for this is my education. This is the biggest factor. My old man makes a lot more money with his bootlegging than I do with my teaching. It's rough supporting five kids on a teacher's salary [No. 72].

Others emphasized more the status aspect of their social mobility. One young female teacher, who placed herself slightly above her parents in social status, gave the following explanation:

> The difference can be accounted for because of my education which provided me with a profession. I am the only professional person in our entire family [No. 68]

This particular teacher was not too realistic about the concept of social class; she placed her father, a restaurant owner, in the lower middle and herself in the upper middle.

Another female teacher, who felt that by being a teacher she had achieved greater prestige but no material gain, said:

> My parents were so proud when I went into teaching. I am the first teacher on either side of the family. I think I am the first to finish college [No. 57].

This teacher placed her father, who was an engineer and a strong union member, in the middle-middle and placed herself on the same level, saying, "Sure, I have more status in teaching, but my father earns more money, so I think we are about even."

Apparently, second generation Italian youth did not share their parental exaltation of the teaching job. One young male, whose father worked at a newspaper stand, expressed this point of view:

> My parents are very proud of the fact that I'm a teacher. But the older Italian people have a much higher concept of the status of a teacher. They place a teacher higher than do the native Americans. People who have lived here all their life don't have such a high opinion of teachers. But the people from the old country think teachers have a very high status. My parents are always bragging about me to the whole neighborhood [No. 45].

Even among the second generation youth, some felt they had made no upward progress. One married male teacher with two children, in comparing his position with others in the family, felt he had made no upward mobility, stating:

> My father is a maintenance man. He is a highly skilled worker and makes a very good salary. My sister is a private secretary and earns more money than I do. I think we are all about on the same level, even though I make the least amount of money of them all [No. 90].

Although Italian teachers objectively displayed similar patterns of socioeconomic status as did Polish teachers, and in upward mobility rate they were also similar, some of the subjective factors that appear in the above quotes suggested a greater degree of lower-class orientation among Italians than was detected among the Polish. Their comments about their early origins and home environments seemed to reflect this lower-class orientation. Perhaps the fact that the Polish were predominantly third generation and the Italians second generation may account for this more subtle difference. Or, it may stem from ethnic differences related to socioeconomic status and mobility.

Generation American

Sixty-eight per cent of the Italian teachers were second generation, and 32 per cent were third generation American. Within the total sample the Italian group ranked second to the Jewish teachers in frequency of descendants of foreign-born parentage. The Italian-Catholics were the only Catholic group to be predominantly second generation. This means that the Italians were only one generation removed from their peasant backgrounds and were therefore less acculturated to urban traditions than Irish and Polish Catholics.

Traditionally, Italian-Americans did not encourage their youth in positive attitudes toward intellectual curiosity or education. We find in this sample that, although Italian teachers were interested in upward mobility, they did not exhibit a strong motivational pattern. This type of behavioral pattern is commented upon by Nathan Glazer in his study of the Italian community in New York City.[1] He attributes this behavior to the attitudes the Italians hold toward education and schooling. Education was for a cultured style of life and for a profession to which the peasant could never aspire; therefore, intellectual curiosity was ridiculed or suppressed.

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[1] Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., p. 199.

In his Italian community study, Herbert Gans makes the following observations about the early origins of second generation Italians:

> Second generation Italians, it must be remembered, were raised by parents whose occupational skills and choices were few, and for whom work usually meant backbreaking labor and subsistence wages. But although the immigrants encouraged their children to escape this kind of work . . . they had no reason or precedent to urge them toward any identification with work or to expect any satisfactions from it. Unlike the Jews, who came to America with something approaching middle class occupational aspirations, and who passed them on to their children, the Italians had only a tradition of farm labor, with no hope for anything else. And given the conditions they encountered in America, it would have been foolhardy for the immigrants to encourage their children to seek emotional involvement in work. Instead, they prepared them to work hard and to accept job loss and temporary unemployment as inevitable.[1]

Although some of the teachers in this sample commented on the pride of their parents in their teaching role, in most instances it was the status of the job rather than the intellectual attributes of which they were proud.

The fact that the majority of Italian teacher were second generation American means that they had been exposed to urban living and traditions less than any of the other Catholic immigrant groups. This could well affect their attitudes, Italian immigrant life conditions would not seem to encourage a Professional orientation.

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[1] Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

Ethnic identification and traditions

More than one-third of the Italian teachers expressed a high level of ethnic identification; the rest claimed only moderate adherence in everyday behavior to ethnic customs and traditions.

Expressions about the unimportance of marriage within the religious group were found more often among Italian teachers than among any of the other Catholic groups. One also found a stronger expression among Italian teachers for the importance of marriage within the ethnic group. The majority, however, as with all other ethnic groups, maintained that while marriage within the religious group was important, marriage within the ethnic community was unimportant.

One third-generation young female teacher expressed an interest in the Italian language. Although she did not speak it, she made these comments:

> I feel it's unfortunate that I did not learn Italian. I'd like to know the language. But in those days, my parents were stressing their American heritage and did not place too much emphasis on Italian [No. 80].

The strong ethnic influence and identification among the Italian-Americans has been commended upon by authors of numerous studies of the Italian community. Marden, in his study of minority groups, points to this unique aspect of the Italian-American culture. He describes as follows:

> . . . what distinguishes Americans of Italian descent in the dominant stereotype is their "foreignness" and their "Italianness" rather than their Catholicism. . . .[1]

Herbert Gans points to the unique influence of the Italian family and the Italian "village" community upon the youth. He describes them as "urban villages."[1]

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[1] Marden, op. cit., p. 389.

In describing the Italian community of Greenwich Village in the early 1930's, Caroline Ware points to some of their unique peasant characteristics:

> The culture which the Italian peasant brought with him to America was closely rooted in the soil, and centered in the family, which was patriarchal in form and integral with the land. It rested on oral tradition rather than literacy. It accorded a place of dignity to manual skill and fine craftsmanship.[2]

Therefore, one finds strong ethnic influences and traditions within the Italian-American culture which would discourage a Professional orientation among the teachers. These would include their low socioeconomic status, their short exposure to urbanization, and the pervasive character of the Italian culture. The relationship of the Italian-Americans to their church, plus their low socioeconomic status, apparently does not encourage the sending of their youth to Catholic schools; therefore, one finds fewer Italian teachers educated in Catholic institutions than among the Irish and Polish. It had been anticipated that teachers coming from such origins would orient toward an Instrumental orientation; however, it is found instead that a strong Nurturant orientation is predominant.

One phenomenon which cannot be explained among the Italian teachers is their relatively high level of education. The Italians, who are predominantly second generation American as compared with third generation Irish and Polish, ranked first among these Catholic groups in level of education.

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[1] Gans, op. cit., p. 126.

[2] Caroline Ware, Greenwich Village (Noston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), p. 173.

The Negro Teacher

Role orientation

Negro teachers were primarily oriented toward Category II, Nurturant, but had strong Instrumental overtones. In some areas, the Instrumental Category III predominated.

In motivation and goals, Negro teachers were predominantly Instrumental in orientation. A large majority (70 per cent) came into teaching because of lack of opportunity elsewhere and not because of intellectual interest or desire to teach or help young people. This was also reflected in their occupational goals, where again they indicated an Instrumental orientation, expressing desires to achieve administrative posts or "any job that would pay more."

Within the dimension of teaching standards they were strongly Nurturant. They were almost unanimous in their choice of "socially-adjusted" when asked about the kind of student they believed should be produced. They were also quite clear-cut in their Nurturant reference group loyalties, choosing the student in both instances.

When it came to the area of teaching performance, they deviated in some instances. For example, the majority of Negro teachers preferred to teach the "average" student in the Instrumental category. Few chose the "under-achiever" in the Nurturant category. When it came to the question of discipline, here again they chose an Instrumental orientation, the "firm hand control" rather than "teacher-student rapport" of the Nurturant category.

Education

Seventy per cent of the Negro teachers had a B.A. as their highest degree. The Negro group ranked lowest in level of education among the five ethnic groups included in this study.

Forty per cent of the Negro respondents had received their entire education in the South. Among those Negro teachers who had obtained their education in the North, 30 per cent had gone to teacher's colleges.

This level and type of educational background would seem to discourage a Professional orientation to the teaching role. In this sample we find that almost half of the Negro teachers received their education within the Southern school system. It is generally believed, for numerous reasons, that the educational system in the South is not as adequate as in the North. Also, the more narrowly designed teachchers' college curriculum as opposed to the more broadly conceived character of the liberal arts curriculum would be a deterrent to the pursuit of intellectual aims.

Religion

Sixty-five per cent of the teachers were Protestant, 15 per cent were Catholic, and the rest claimed no identity with any religion. Among the Negro Protestant teachers, one found a detached attitude towards religion and the church. None was actively participating. The few Negro teachers who had been converted to Catholicism appeared to be much more involved in religious activities. Belonging to the

Catholic Church seemed to represent a status symbol to them. One young female Negro teacher explained her conversion in the following way:

> I have only recently changed to Catholicism. I was formerly a Baptist. I wasn't happy with the teaching of my old religion and a number of my friends were Catholic. I would go to church with them and I found that there was so much more about their religion. It helped me to understand the teachings of the Bible, so I decided to go to classes. Since joining the Catholic Church I feel that I have learned more about and gotten a deeper understanding of what religion is all about. My mother didn't mind. She wanted me to do what I wanted to do and I have always lived with my grandmother. I think that they are all a little proud of the fact that I have gone into the Catholic Church even though they haven't said as much [No. 40].

Another young female Negro teacher told of being converted after attending a Catholic school. She spoke of the pride her parents displayed when she announced at the age of eight that she wanted to be converted. She also mentioned her experiences on a European trip she had taken last summer with a group of Negro teachers, saying, "I stood out from the others. I was the only one who had to run to mass every morning" (No. 32).

Protestantism was identified by some of the Negro teachers with the emotionally based church of the South. One young Negro girl, who claimed that she was soon to be converted, expressed it as follows:

> When I was growing up . . . my grandparents used to impress upon us the usual concept of God's image . . . someone that was ready to heap brimstone and hellfire on you if you did not behave. Since that time my mind has been changed. The real change came when I took a course in college on religious philosophy and it changed my belief . . . I am thinking of changing to Catholicism. Besides, most of my friends are Catholic [No. 37].

Another female teacher, in explaining the conversion of her mother's family, said:

> After my mother and father were divorced, we went to live with my grandparents. It was a small town, predominantly white and Catholic. The Negroes in the town were very poor and Protestant. Mother's family felt above the other Negroes and did not want to be identified with them so they joined the Catholic Church [No. 18].

In speaking of her contemporaries, one Negro teacher pointed out that most of her friends were either "growing up in Catholicism or being converted." She went on to explain:

> The up-and-coming Negro is moving away from the emotionally-based church of the South, the revival church. They are going into Catholicism [No. 53].

In his study of the Black Bourgeoisie, E. Franklin Frazer remarked on this social phenomenon taking place in the Negro community. He states:

> As Negroes have moved up the social ladder within the Negro community, they have tended to desert the Baptist and Methodist churches and seek affiliation with the Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian and Catholic churches.[1]

Among Negro teachers in the present sample, this tendency appeared to be more prevalent among females than among males.

The question concerning marriage within the same religious group was asked of only a few of the Negro teachers. It was dismissed as being unimportant even among those converted to Catholicism. One male Negro teacher answered the question as follows:

> Religion does not play the same role among Negroes as it does among whites, so that wouldn't be a problem at all [No. 44].

The question of marriage within the same racial group was not asked of the Negro.

The religious data in this sample on the Negro teachers does not suggest any relationship with the attitudes of the teachers toward their teaching role. Possibly if it were explored in greater depth, some relationship might be revealed. However, from the data obtained here, this is not indicated.

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[1] E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 89-90.

Socioeconomic status and mobility

Sixty-five per cent of the Negro teachers came from middle-class origins; 35 per cent from lower-middle and 30 per cent from middle-middle. Of the ethnic groups studied, the Negro teachers had the largest percentage originating in the middle class. A few of the female Negro teachers came from the upper-middle class.

Measured objectively, upward mobility had been achieved by 70 per cent of the Negro teachers. Subjectively, only 60 per cent believed they had moved up. Others felt they had made no change. A few claimed to have moved downward.

As mentioned previously, it was difficult to evaluate the Negro socioeconomic hierarchy. For example, one male teacher placed both his father, who was a truck driver, and himself in the middle-middle category, stating: "I don't see any changes yet, but I believe education may provide me with the potential to bring about a change." Apparently, the family had a middle-class orientation because in speaking of the period in which he had decided to become a teacher he went on to say:

> As early as I can remember, my attitude was that I was going on to college because if you didn't get an education, you couldn't cope with the world today. This was instilled in me as a child by my parents. Education has a great value in middle-class society, and I always looked forward to going to college when I was in high school. My parents had a lot to do with it. I really wanted to become a research chemist, but I couldn't finance that kind of education. All I could afford in terms of college was a teacher's education [No. 71].

The upward mobility strivings of the mobile Negro youth were in evidence among most of the Negro teachers. One young Negro male referred to his college-educated father, a government clerk, as being lower-middle, while he placed himself in the middle-middle. The reason he gave for this was:

> I feel I moved up through my marriage. My wife comes from the upper-middle background. Both of her parents are professional people, and I think this has brought me up to the middle middle. At least, that is what my wife has been telling me. I think these are the things that go into determining your social class position [No. 44].

(His wife was listening to the interview and kept nodding in agreement at many of the remarks being made.)

Apparently, teaching was not considered a "high status" occupation among Negro youth. One unmarried female teacher stated:

> I would never marry a teacher, that is, unless he taught college. I don't think too highly of a man that teaches. That's no status job for a man. He's no better than I am. He has done what I've done. When I get married, I want a man that can support me so that I can stop teaching and do what I want to do [No. 18].

Very few teachers expressed the belief that they had achieved "high status" in teaching. However, teaching within the parental generation was considered on a much higher level. A southern Negro male, in describing the social position of his father who was a mortician, said:

> They were part of the important people in the community. The important people were those who teach, those who preach, and those who bury. These were the active leaders within the Negro community [No. 66].

One married female teacher from an upper-middle class background explained why she felt she had moved downward, saying:

> My husband is also a teacher, yet, our combined income is far less than my father's. As a child, I was able to live on a

> scale far above that which we are giving to our children. Besides, a dentist has a much higher social status than a teacher.

She went on to point out:

> It was traditional in our family for all the girls to go to Fisk College because my mother had gone there and all the boys went to Howard University, my father's alma mater. But I am not sure we will be able to send our children there [No. 105].

Many Negro teachers spoke of their lack of occupational opportunities which caused them to turn to teaching. One expressed it in the following way:

> I never really decided to become a teacher. It just happened. When I went to college, I found that it was cheaper to be trained as a teacher. And as for getting a job, teaching was my best chance. When I was a kid, I dreamt of being a doctor or a lawyer. But that was only kid stuff and when I found out how much it cost to go to medical school, I gave up that idea quickly [No. 20].

Another male pointed to his lack of funds, saying:

> When I first graduated from high school, I was thinking about going in for engineering math, but due to lack of money I had to go to teacher's college and concentrate on teaching math in high school [No. 44].

Law was the first choice of one male Negro teacher who, because of lack of funds, had to go to Chicago Teachers College instead. In describing his experiences, he said:

> I came to Chicago from Alabama specifically to go to school. I lived with a cousin the entire time I went to school. I worked in the Post Office on Saturdays and Sundays. I really wanted to go to law school at the University of Chicago but I couldn't afford it so I decided to go to CTC and then go on to law school, but after going to CTC I decided to stick to teaching [No. 66].

Despite the fact that the majority of Negroes came from middle-class origins, few Negro teachers oriented toward the Professional category, choosing the Nurturant and Instrumental categories instead. In his study of the Negro community Charles Silberman points out that ordinary measurement of socioeconomic class does not erase the difference between Negro and white academic achievement. The differences which may be due to environmental factors are not taken into account with the ordinary measure of class.

In this instance, lack of access to middle-class occupations other than teaching among Negro college-educated youth would tend to deter a Professional attitude toward their teaching role, and encourage a more Instrumental one. The above suggests an explanation for the Instrumental motivational pattern of responses found among Negro teachers.

Ethnic identification and traditions

For obvious reasons, the Negroes were excluded from the questions requesting information about the level of ethnic identification and generation American. However, in the course of the interview many ethnic patterns emerged.

In examining the early backgrounds of the Negro teachers, there appeared a marked pattern of family disorganization and a high incidence of broken homes. Only five out of the twenty Negro teachers interviewed had been reared in homes where the nuclear family was intact. The others spoke of parental separation, early death of the father, being reared by relatives--primarily grandparents. The terms "godfather" and "godmother" were often used. To some, the grandfather performed the father role, but in most instances, it was the mother who was the main wage-earner. Some of the teachers admitted that there was no father in the home. Others claimed that the father had died when they were quite young and they couldn't remember him. A few attempted to hide the fact that there was no father in the home but were led to reveal it in the course of the interview. Apparently, there is a distinction made among the Negroes in relation to homes that never have had a father and those broken by separation or death. In speaking of her students, one female Negro teacher expressed this point of view, saying:

> I understand these kids and their problem. I grew up in this same neighborhood. I can identify with them. My background was similar and I know the problems you have with your family. While ours was a broken home, it was split because of divorce, not like the rest of them [No. 18].

The prevalence of broken homes and female wage-earners in the Negro culture has been stressed again and again. Herbert Gans, in referring to the dominance of the mother in the Negro family points out:

> Long-term male employment instability, coupled with the availability of stable employment for Negro women and the long history of matriarchy in Negro society, have practically pre-empted the male's family role. Thus, he is often a weak or absent father, or he may desert the family when he is unemployed, or he may be asked to leave by the woman. Under such conditions, the mother becomes the dominant member of the family.[1]

It had been anticipated that a larger response would be found in Category III (Instrumental) among Negro teachers. However, this sample indicated that the "child-centered" category (Nurturant) was dominant. The low choice in Category I had been anticipated. The social conditions of the Negro youth in the home, in the school, and in society generally do not encourage a professional attitude motivated toward intellectual discipline and competence.

Some Negro teachers complained rather bitterly about the attitudes of Negro parents toward education. One male teacher spoke of it, echoing many of this contemporaries, as follows:

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[1] Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

> Most of the Negro parents want an education for their children, but they don't place much importance to the school. They will sometimes keep the kids home for almost any unimportant reason, such as being home when the TV man gets there [No. 7].

In discussing the education of Negro children in New York, Nathan Glazer raises the question as to why the education of the Negro children is so poorly rewarded. According to Glazer:

> There is little question where the major part of the answer must be found, in the home and family and community, not in its overt values, which, as we have seen, are positive in relation to education, but in its conditions and circumstances. It is there that the heritage of 200 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination is concentrated; and it is there that we find the serious obstacles to the ability to make use of a free educational system to advance into higher occupations and to eliminate the massive social problems that afflict colored Americans and the city.[1]

While it is known that socioeconomic differences contribute to school performance of both Negro and white students, Charles Silberman, in referring to the New York studies made by Dr. Martin Deutsch, points out that even when they are on the same socioeconomic level, Negro students will average lower scores than the white. According to Silberman:

> The fact remains that ordinary measures of socioeconomic class do not erase the difference between Negro and white academic achievement; Negro youngsters show twice as much academic lag as lower-class white youngsters. . . .[2]

He goes on to say that there are indications that these differences may be due to "environmental factors which the ordinary measures of class do not take into account." He points to two specific areas:

> Negro youngsters have a much shorter history of urbanization than

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[1] Glazer, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[2] Silberman, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

> whites of the same socioeconomic class; more important, a very much higher proportion of Negro youngsters come from broken homes.[1]

While broken homes and illegitimacy do not necessarily mean poor upbringing and emotional problems, the fact remains that the mother is forced to work and that the family situation, instead of being clear-cut with defined roles and responsibilities, is left "vague and ambiguous."

A report on a recent conference on education and cultural deprivation has pointed to the fact that the Negro child not only has to overcome the handicaps of the culturally deprived, but "he suffers from the special problems created by the prejudices and attitudes of others. . . ." The system of segregated schools has meant inferior education for Negro children.

The report goes on to say:

> For generations, an economic blockade has been maintained against Negroes, with the result that most of them felt that there was nothing to be gained by being educated. Most of those who obtained an education found no openings except in teaching in Negro schools, and in the U.S. Postal Service.
>
> . . . .
>
> Education and preparing for a skilled job or a profession, however, are long-term goals. One must have some economic security of stability, if one is to hope to finish high school and college. . . . Economic deprivation inevitably weakens the interest of most Negro families and children in striving for the long-term goals of education.[2]

Another deterrent to school achievement for Negroes is described as:

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 261.

[2] Benjamin Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 29-30.

> . . . the cultural deprivation which results from segregation and from the poverty and lack of educational stimulus in the home. This cultural handicap includes the lack of books, lack of emphasis on reading in the home, the dialect the child learns from his family, and the level of parental interest in education.[1]

Therefore, within the socio-cultural background of the Negro one finds characteristics that would definitely discourage intellectual and professional pursuits, as well as higher education. Specifically, their disorganized home environment does not inspire in the Negro youth a desire for a high level of academic competence or the development of intellectual curiosity. The type of education they receive does not prepare them to compete in the broad liberal arts college. The lack of access to middle-class occupations causes them to "fall back" on teaching as their only alternative. These factors could help to explain the Instrumental aspect of the role orientation among the Negro teachers.

The social position of Negroes within our society, wherein they are still in the process of finding a place in the mainstream of American life, would serve to orient the Negro teacher toward an attitude of developing individual needs rather than one of competence and intellectual skills. Apparently the influence of achieving egalitarian and individual rights is the stronger one and results in a predominantly Nurturant orientation among Negro teachers.

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[1] Ibid.

The Jewish Teacher

Role orientation

The pattern of responses given by Jewish teachers indicated a strong primary Professional orientation. Seventy-two per cent of the Jewish group answered seven or more questions used to determine role orientation in Category I.

Within the motivational dimension all questions were overwhelmingly answered in the Professional category. Future occupational goals in particular elicited an enormous response (83 per cent) in this role-orientation category.

In the area of teaching standards, the pattern was not consistent. There was some division among Jewish teachers on reference group loyalties. Half of the teachers declared their first loyalty to the student; the other half claimed that their own or professional principles came first. But when it came to approval of the teacher's performance, a large majority reverted back to the Professional orientation. The Jewish teachers were the only group to have a modal orientation (67 per cent) in the Professional category on the question concerning the function of the high school. But they joined with the majority of the teachers in their choice of student to be produced, choosing "socially adjusted" in the Nurturant category.

They were consistent in a Professional pattern of responses to the items centered around the teaching performance dimension, with the exception of two items. On the question of the student's work evaluation they again joined the majority of teachers by choosing the Nurturant category. Also, on the question of discipline they deviated and again chose Nurturant. The question which elicited the greatest frequency of responses in the Professional category dealt with the kind of student preferred. Almost 90 per cent chose the "gifted, honor" student.

Education

Seventy-two per cent of the Jewish teachers had an M.A. plus additional graduate work, while 28 per cent had a B.A. plus. Jewish teachers ranked first in level of education.

All Jewish teachers had gone to liberal arts colleges and universities; none attended teachers' college.

The timing of the decision to become a teacher was evenly distributed between high school, college, and after college. Fifty per cent of the male teachers had obtained their education through the G. I. Bill.

Such an educational background would appear to have some bearing upon the Professional orientation of the Jewish teachers.

Religion

For this group, it was impossible to separate religious from cultural identification. All identified as "Jews." In his study of Jewish life in America, Nathan Glazer points out that the term "Jew" refers "ambiguously both to a member of the Jewish people and to an adherent of the religion of Judaism."[1] This ambiguity was reflected in the replies of our Jewish teachers. As one male Jewish teacher expressed it:

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[1] Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 94.

> I just identify as a Jew in name and practice rather than with any religion. I send my children to Sunday School and that's about the extent of my religion right now [No. 3].

Yet, this same teacher felt that it was important to marry within one's religious group. "It makes a difference. I think there would be a certain strain."

Another specifically tried to separate the two aspects of being a Jew, or, as Glazer described it, "Jewish life without Judaism." This particular teacher explained it as follows:

> I am secular. However, I consider myself Jewish. But this is a cultural preference. I do not belong to a synagogue or attend services, even though I do teach at the South Side School of Jewish Studies, but this is Jewish cultural history that I teach. My family has never been very religious, my father in particular, but they would carry out the rituals awkwardly to conform with the religious patterns of those around them. My mother was a little more religious, but even she was not too religious [No. 38].

One male Jewish teacher spoke of his sentimental attachment to "Jewishness," and then went on to make what he believed to be a distinction between the cultural and religious view, stating:

> I make a distinction between cultural Jewishness as opposed to Judaism. Well, I am the Jewishness. When my father came here, he was, I suppose, more religious than he is now, but he became a little more skeptical and was no longer as religious and gradually drifted away from it altogether [No. 76]

Another approached the question by separating the "Yiddish" tradition from the "Hebrew." His explanation was as follows:

> Although I seldom attend services and do not belong to a synagogue, I still identify as a Jew. I sometimes go to the services on the high holy days with my father, but that's very seldom, and I'm not active there. I have a sense of identity with the Jewish people; I feel that these are my people and the history is a beautiful one. I was brought up in the Yiddish tradition as distinct from the

> Hebrew. Those with a Russian background, with the old country ways, identified more with the Yiddish school or milieu. This was more secular, rather than religious, as opposed to those from Israel, who identified with the Hebrew, which is more sacred and religious. The Workmen's circle, those who belonged there, identified with the Yiddish and not the Hebrew. I was sent to a school at the Workmen's Circle where I learned the history of the Jewish people, and Yiddish. They still have the school. I used to send my own son there, but he had to travel a little too far. When I sent him to the Hebrew schools, he didn't care for them. The only reason I sent him is that it's part of the pattern of the neighborhood. They all go through confirmation and Bar Mitzvah, he has to be a part of this, too. That's why I sent him [No. 79].

One female Jewish teacher spoke of her need to identify with the Jewish community because of her children. She attended services regularly, was active in her temple, and retained a high ethnic identification with the Jewish community.

One teacher described himself as a "Jewish atheist." He went on to explain:

> I hope you won't think me facetious if I say I am a Jewish atheist. I believe in the cultural practices. We have a kosher home. I send my son to the Jewish day school, a parochial school. Part of the reason I send him there is that he was too late to get into the public school. I think I still might send him there because he gets a good Hebrew education as well as a good academic education. We light candles on Friday night. I tell my children all about the Jewish customs and, in a sense, I do have a belief. However, I would like to point out that my wife is more embroiled in the religion than I am. I do not attend synagogue, although I do go during the religious holidays. This is mostly for the sake of my children, so that I can say that I identify as a Jew as far as the cultural aspect is concerned. While I was going to school, I worked for the Board of Jewish Education. I was a group leader. So, I'm very much a part of the Jewish community, but I'm not necessarily a believer in the religion. When my father was my age, I don't think he practiced religion more than I do now. I think he, too, was always a non-believer. But in Roumania, where he came from, you couldn't stay away as we're able to do here. I don't think it makes a great deal of difference if you marry outside your religion. Of course, I married a Jewish girl. But there's a lot of pressure brought to bear on you by your parents. In order to preserve the group, it's wiser to marry inside the religion, but I think it's up to the individual [No. 91].

Glazer, in his study, refers to this "modified American standard of piety" by which one "attends services, lights candles on Friday night and observes the major holidays. . . ."[1]

Some of the teachers identified more strongly with the religious aspect. As one unmarried female teacher explained her beliefs:

> I'm sort of an odd kind of Jewish person. I have my own personal version of what it means to be Jewish. I have studied all the religions of the world and I have come to the conclusion that this is the one I prefer. I don't belong to a synagogue, I don't go to services. My parents never did. But I still maintain that I'm Jewish. All my relatives are Jewish. All my friends are Jewish [No. 35].

Several teachers spoke of the meaning that education has for the Jewish people. One expressed it in this manner:

> When I was in high school I thought I wanted to teach, but teachers were considered such misfits, oddballs, detached from life. But my father encouraged me to go into teaching. He had been a Hebrew teacher in Poland. He thought that teaching was an honorable and worthwhile profession [No. 8].

Another, in relating education to his "Jewishness," said:

> Even though I do not have a formal religious affiliation, I definitely feel my Jewishness. My desire for learning is essentially Jewish. The Torah means learning to me. And by fulfilling this, I am fulfilling the Jewish commandments [No. 22].

It would appear that the Jewish emphasis on education would have a bearing upon the attitude of Jewish teachers toward role orientation. Whether this is a function of religious or cultural identification is beyond the scope of this study. To answer the question would require a study in greater depth.

Socioeconomic status and mobility

Jewish teachers were stratified on two levels of socioeconomic origins. Fifty-six per cent came from upper-lower and 44 per cent came from middle-middle. There were none originating from lower- or upper-middle. The male teachers came from the upper-lower and the female teachers come from the middle-middle social class.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

The fathers of male teachers were either garment workers or tailors, but none were self-employed. The fathers of female teachers were business and professional men.

Objectively, 67 per cent had moved upward, while subjectively only 50 per cent believed they had achieved upward mobility. Among Jewish teachers, as among all other ethnic groups, there was an awareness of their social mobility. In most instances, they attributed it to their education and income.

One male Jewish teacher, who had classified his family in the "skilled working class" and himself in the lower-middle, gave the following explanation:

> I am on a higher income level than my parents. My cultural preferences are much wider. So is my cultural behavior. My circle of friends and activities are all centered around the middle class, and I participate with others in these middle-class activities [No. 38].

In explaining why she had placed her family in lower-middle and herself in middle-middle, one teacher said:

> This is based purely on economic position and the fact that today I own my own home instead of living in a little apartment behind my father's office on Lawrence Avenue. Now we have our own home, have more financial security, and, also, my husband and I have a college education and are teachers. I grew up in the economic period of the thirties and felt much of the effects of the depression. That's why I would place my family in the lower-middle [No. 75].

Another female teacher, who had placed her family in the upper-lower and herself in the middle-middle, commented on the differences:

> Well, my father was a working man and we always had a very modern

> apartment. I can remember when we had four tiny rooms and there was my mother, father, grandmother, and three children living in these four rooms. So you can understand, that's not very high. I think that as far as I'm concerned, I make more money, even on a comparative scale of the cost of living today and the cost of living then, and, of course, I've had the advantage of an education and cultural exposure, and I've been able to have more of a cultural life in my adult years than I did as a child, so I would say that I've moved up the scale [No. 95].

Among those who claimed downward mobility was a male teacher who had four children. He placed his father, a self-employed salesman, in the middle-middle and himself in the lower-middle, giving the following reasons:

> If you're judging by income, my father made much more than I have. Even his social status has been higher than mine. My father has a good sized business, he owns his own home and car, and I think that he has the possibilities of even working himself up to upper middle. But as a teacher, I'm lower-middle in income, status--any way you want to look at it [No. 94].

Another male Jewish teacher with two children spoke rather bitterly about the status of a teacher, stating:

> I don't think a teacher has much standing in the community at all. He's not held in high regard. Even the students look at the teacher with disfavor. They figure they're teaching because they can't do anything else. In a way they're right. I could make more money if I went into industry [No. 3].

So here we see an ethnic group with a majority originating from lower-class immigrant parents, yet with a very strong percentage (72 per cent) in the Professional role-orientation category. Therefore, this would suggest that social class origin alone cannot be a major determinant in role orientation. A further confirmation of this hypothesis would be the sharp differences revealed between male and female Jewish teachers.

In the total sample there was little indication of sex-differences in orientation to the teaching role. However, among Jewish teachers differences between male and female teachers did appear, both in terms of early origins and role orientation. Jewish male teachers came from lower socioeconomic and second generation American origins. They taught history and social studies and consistently responded to questions with a Professional orientation. Jewish female teachers, on the other hand, came from middle socioeconomic and third generation American origins. They taught a variety of subjects and were not consistent in their pattern of responses, varying between Professional and Nurturant orientations.

Generation American

Seventy-two per cent of the Jewish teachers were of foreign-born parents and 28 per cent were of native-born parentage. With only one exception, Jewish male teachers were all of foreign-born parentage. One female teacher was fourth generation.

Although the large majority of the Jewish group was composed of descendants of immigrant parents, numerous studies have pointed to the urban experience of the Jewish immigrant as compared to other European immigrant groups. Charles Marden, in comparing acculturation differences between Jews and other immigrant groups, has pointed to the urban way of life experienced by the Jews in Europe in contrast to the rural peasant background of some other European immigrants. Marden singles out two factors that contribute toward making Jews as a minority group different from other minority groups: ". . . Jews in Europe had lived largely in cities and had developed an urban mode of life," and ". . . unlike most of the other immigrants, the Jews who came to the United States have had a long experience as a minority."[1]

Therefore, we find that being second generation American does not necessarily discourage a Professional orientation. Urban origins may still be prevalent among second generation teachers, as in the case of the Jewish group. And as we have previously commented, urban origins tend to encourage Professional attitudes toward the teaching role.

Ethnic identification

The Jewish parental group was the highest in its ethnic identification. One-third of the Jewish teachers in this sample expressed high identification with their ethnic group, while the majority indicated only a moderate identity. Only two Jewish teachers were of the opinion that marriage within the religious-cultural group was unimportant. None of the teachers had non-Jewish mates.

Male Jewish teachers were markedly similar on many characteristics. All had M.A. degrees; all but one were between 30 and 40 years of age; all but two taught the same subject--social studies; and all but one were second generation American. However, it was in their early socioeconomic origins that the similarity was even more obvious. Their fathers were all identified with the "needle trades" and were active members of a union. Running through their background was an organization which they called Workmen's Circle. It was described as a Jewish labor group, although basically it was intended to be an insurance group. Their social life revolved mostly around this group. As one teacher described it: "My parents identified with the Jewish community and many charitable groups but all through the Workmen's Circle." This identical theme was repeated again and again by the male Jewish teachers in our sample, despite the fact that they came from all parts of the city and from many different schools, and that only two were acquainted with each other. The same pattern was not found among female Jewish teachers.

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[1] Charles F. Marden, Minorities in American Life (New York: American Book Company, 1952), pp. 396, 415.

In his study of the Jews of New York, Glazer refers to the Workmen's Circle as a fraternal order of the Jewish working class that supplied its members with insurance benefits, Yiddish schools, social life, camps and cultural activities. As one became more affluent one moved on to other organizations. This point was touched upon by several teachers in our study. Apparently, the organization had no appeal for the second generation Jewish youth.

Among all teachers interviewed for this study, the Jewish males reflected the greatest amount of discontent with the high school climate. They were quite vocal in expressing this discontent. Some felt they were a little too old to make any changes, but the majority hoped to go into college teaching. One very unhappy male Jewish teacher expressed his views as follows:

> I hope to be teaching college. I can't stand the atmosphere of the high school, particularly the administration. Most of them are either gym teachers or woodshop teachers. They inspire in me only resentment. They won't let me teach. I'm constantly interrupted by all the paper work, I have to stop the class to take care of polio shots, PTA, CTA cards, Red Cross, booster club, community fund, newspaper, children's aid, Christmas fund, etc. I once sat down and listed twenty-six of these stupid little tasks that we have to take care of.
>
> . . . .
>
> A few weeks ago I figured out that on hall guard duty and lunch-

> room duty, I spend two hours a day, or four hundred hours a year. If only one-half of the teachers had these same duties, that would mean that 4,000,000 hours are being taken away from teaching every year. There is no reason why I should have to stand and watch a kid walk down the hall and even go to the toilet. Why don't they get student teachers or maybe the policewomen to do this? I've had a good college education, I love my subject and understand it. I consider myself a professional person. It should not be my obligation to watch toilets. I have offered to take an extra class in place of these duties, but I was told it was against regulations [No. 28].

Most male Jewish teachers, while not stating it as sharply as the one above, had similar expressions. This reaction to the high school milieu was not as prevalent among female Jewish teachers. Although some objected to the school curriculum program, they were not as vitriolic as their male colleagues.

The strong professional orientation of Jewish teachers made it difficult for them to function in the high school situation. As more opportunity for college teaching develops, it is possible that very few Jewish males will go into high school teaching. The fact that in this sample they were all between 30 and 40 years of age may be an indication. It was difficult to locate younger male Jewish teachers.

Glazer, in referring to the situation in New York, raises the question as to the effectiveness of "professionally" oriented Jewish teachers working with the Negro and Puerto Rican migrant children. He writes:

> The teaching force of New York is now, according to one informed guess, perhaps fifty per cent Jewish. . . . The very large number of Jewish teachers affects the character of New York schools. It is not easy to figure out what the impact of a largely Jewish teaching force is on students compared with, for example, the largest Irish, and German, and white Protestant teaching force of thirty or forty years ago. If the groups are so different in their intellectual attitudes, cultural outlooks, and orientations toward education in college, that some influence, one can be sure,

> must be felt. Whether in their expectations of intellectual competence, the Jewish teachers overwhelm and discourage Negro and Puerto Rican migrant children, or encourage them to greater efforts, would be hard to say.[1]

Only one male Jewish teacher expressed enthusiasm with high school teaching. This particular teacher had been referred to by several other teachers with great admiration and respect. Although his name did not appear to fit in with the ethnic groups included in the study, he was interviewed out of curiosity. During the course of the interview it was discovered that he was Jewish and had an identical background with the other male Jewish teachers in the sample.

Apparently, this teacher's work was so outstanding that it was recognized by the students, his colleagues, and the school administration. He taught the top honor students at a school ranked academically high. He had appeared on several educational television programs. The history curriculum which he had developed for his courses was now being considered for use on a city-wide basis. He had been the only Chicago high school teacher chosen to attend a seminar course at Columbia University the previous summer. This teacher apparently had found an avenue for expressing his professional orientation within the high school system. He was not as cooperative and enthusiastic about the interview as were some other teachers. This teacher was being rewarded for his efforts and didn't feel the need to talk about them. However, before the interview was over, he brought out his program of study and went to great lengths to explain it.

Glazer speaks of the "passion for education" displayed by Eastern European Jews almost from the beginning of their arrival in this country, a passion he called "unique in American history."[1] Speaking of the attitude of the Jewish people toward education, Havighurst has noted:

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[1] Glazer, op. cit., p. 146.

> The Jews have probably made more use of education as a means of moving up in the American social class structure than has any other immigrant group.[2]

What subcultural traits might help explain the Jewish teachers' strong Professional orientation to the teaching role? We have found that a high level of education does not necessarily insure an orientation to the Professional category. However, the fact that the Jewish teachers had all attended liberal arts colleges could be a contributing factor. We also see here that being children of low socio-economic immigrant parentage does not necessarily discourage a Professional role orientation. What does seem to matter is descent of parents with urban traditions. The Jewish immigrant, it has been noted, was largely from urban communities. The traditional "passion" for education could also have a bearing upon the stron Professional orientation found among the Jewish teachers.

The differences in orientation to the teaching role found among male and female teachers within the Jewish group would suggest that this "passion" for education does not bear as heavily upon women as it does upon men. Perhaps the women's role within this ethnic group is a factor in the inconsistencies displayed by female teachers in their role orientation.

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[1] Ibid., p. 155.

[2] Havighurst and Neugarten, op. cit., p. 31.

The strong discontent with the high school situation found among male Jewish teachers suggests the possibility that they will not enter high school teaching in any large numbers in the future.

Summary

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that some socio-cultural characteristics were to be examined in an effort to determine if such factors encourage a particular orientation toward the teaching role. These background variables included sex, socioeconomic origins, social mobility, level and type of education, subject taught, religion, and urban/rural traditions. Each of these variables was examined independently in an effort to determine if it bears a significant relationship to role orientation. Then each of these background characteristics was examined as an intervening variable within the ethnic matrix.

The findings in this chapter as contrasted to the previous ones were only suggestive. To resolve the issues involved, a complex multi-variate analysis would have been needed, as a result of which the discrete contributions of ethnic identification and the various socio-cultural variables could have been simultaneously studied as they affected role-orientation. Given the exploratory character of this study, with its attendant relatively numerous ethnic groups each with relatively few respondents, such an analysis was not feasible. The findings summarized below begin to give an idea of the relationships involved and could facilitate the design of more systematic studies in this area.

Sex role

The first variable to be considered was the teachers' sex role. Since few respondents identified primarily with an Instrumental orientation only two categories were contrasted--the Professional and the Nurturant. When male and female teachers were compared on the above two role-orientation categories, a significant relationship at the .025 level was found, in the expected direction.

However, upon examining the relationship of sex role and occupational role orientation within the ethnic matrix, sex differences were found in only two of the ethnic groups--the Irish and the Jewish. For the other ethnic groups no sex differences in occupational role orientation appeared to exist.

Of the fourteen questions, only the one concerning future occupational goals revealed differences attributable to sex. As expected, the responses of males were divided between the Professional and Instrumental categories, while females expressed occupational goals in the Nurturant category.

Socioeconomic origin

No direct relationship between socioeconomic status and role orientation was indicated by the data. The socioeconomic aspect that did appear to have a bearing upon role orientation was the particular ethnic group's access to middle-class occupations. Although many of the Irish and Jewish youth came from families of lower socioeconomic status, they had available to them other occupational avenues for putting their college education to use. Therefore, those who came into teaching did so because of the enjoyment they felt in teaching their subject matter. This contributed toward a Professional orientation. Fewer occupational opportunities were available to the lower-class Italian youth. And while the Negro teachers in this sample were largely from the middle class, their occupational horizons were quite limited for another reason, namely, race. Therefore, among these two groups--Italian and Negro--one finds more often individuals in the Instrumental category, i.e., teachers who are not necessarily committed to education per se, or in the Nurturant category, i.e., teachers who are interested in "helping people." The responses of only a few of the Italian and Negro teachers were found to be primarily in the Professional category, i.e., teachers committed to academic achievement.

Intergenerational mobility

The high mobility rate (67 per cent) displayed by teachers of all ethnic groups was larger than the rate displayed by high school teachers in the Havighurst School Survey. However, it must be recognized that this sample only reflected the views of the younger teachers and of minority groups in our society; therefore, the increased mobility rate is understandable. This study confirms the observation made in the Chicago School Survey that the teaching profession offers opportunity for upward mobility. Given the uniformly high incidence of upward mobility in all ethnic groups of this study, the effects of mobility on role orientation could not be observed. A certain trend, although not significant, was indicated. The upward mobile teachers tended to be relatively more often in the Professional category than the downward and stationary teachers. Perhaps if the sample included more individuals in the downward mobile group, the differences would have attained significance.

Education

Upon examining the educational level and the type of education received by the teachers it was found that type of education suggested greater possibilities of affecting role orientation than level of education. In fact, level of education did not seem to have any bearing on the teachers' attitude toward their role.

However, when type of education was explored, a suggestive pattern emerged. Those educated in Catholic educational institutions showed a significantly stronger Professional orientation than those educated in public schools. It was also found that an ethnic group's relationship to the Catholic Church may in turn determine the number of youth who attended Catholic schools. Although this suggests a relationship of Catholic education to the Professional role orientation, it must be recognized that other ethnic characteristics interacted in order to make this possible.

A large percentage of Negroes received their education in the South, and those who had obtained their education in the North had gone to teachers colleges rather than liberal arts colleges. It is generally believed that this type of education would not encourage attitudes seeking a high level of intellectual competence. Negro teachers in this sample oriented to the Nurturant category with strong overtones of the Instrumental. We have no direct indication that this is a result of their type of education; however, it does suggest such a consequence. So here again we find that as a result of their disadvantaged position in American society, the Negro teachers have received the type of education that would result in a particular type of role orientation to their teaching job.

It was also found that all Jewish teachers had received a liberal arts education, and this group had the strongest Professional orientation. Again, we have no specific data to support a claim for a relationship between this type of educational experience and the teachers' attitude, but the trend can be mentioned as a possible lead into further research.

Subject taught

When role orientation of teachers in the three major areas of subject matter (humanities, social studies, math/sciences) are contrasted, significant differences are not found. The data suggest, however, a slight preference for Professional role orientation between teachers of social studies as contrasted with teachers in other areas of subject matter.

Cross-tabulation of the responses to each of the fourteen questions did not indicate a significant relationship between subject matter and role orientation. However, the question concerning future goals, although not significant, did suggest a trend on the part of English teachers to choose nurturant-oriented goals.

The findings in this sample suggest that role orientation is more a function of membership in an ethnic group rather than subject taught. The choice of subject to be taught may itself be affected by the teachers' ethnic origins.

Religion

It was not possible to make a meaningful comparison between the three religious groups represented here--Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish--because Negro teachers were the only Protestants included in the study. However, since the Catholic groups constituted more than half of the total sample, it was possible to make comparisons between the three Catholic groups: Irish, Polish, and Italian.

As far as our data explored this problem, it would appear that among the Catholic teachers religion per se does not have a direct relationship to role orientation. Each of the Catholic groups presented a different primary role orientation in this study. The Irish were strongly Professional, the Italians primarily Nurturant, the Polish vacillated between the two categories although they were slightly stronger in the Professional orientation.

Our data would seem to support recent claims to the effect that ethnicity is still a factor to be considered in the study of American Catholics. It is not possible to combine Irish, Polish, and Italian Catholics into one category on the basis of their common religion. Historical and cultural differences cannot be ignored.

Urban vs. rural traditions (generation American)

The data confirmed observations made in numerous studies quoted in this paper, i.e., that ethnic groups with urban traditions would place a higher value upon academic excellence and intellectual pursuits. The study suggests that members of ethnic groups with urban traditions would more likely have a Professional orientation.

The Irish and Polish were mostly third generation American; both oriented to the Professional category, although the Polish to a lesser degree than the Irish. The majority of the Italians were second generation Americans. The primary orientation of this group was Nurturant.

Although the Jewish teachers were primarily second generation American, their forefathers came from small towns or cities and had presumably developed urban modes of living.

The Negro teachers were largely descendants of southern-born parents who had not been acculturated in the industrial urban traditions of the North. The Negro teachers were identified primarily with a Nurturant orientation but had strong Instrumental overtones.

Ethnic identification and traditions

Each of the ethnic groups displayed certain unique characteristics which appeared to be contributing factors to their role orientation.

The relationship of the Irish to the Catholic Church appears to encourage a tradition of Catholic education for their youth. Yet, a lack of intellectual traditions appears to have an effect upon the level of education and motivational goals of the Irish teachers.

The Italian "urban village" communities, with strong family ties, contributed toward a Nurturant orientation among Italian teachers. The Jewish "passion for education" was a contributing factor to a Professional orientation. The culturally depressed position of the Negro in American life, plus the disorganization of the Negro family life, encouraged a Nurturant orientation, with emphasis upon individual needs rather than academic achievement.

In summary, it is suggested here that no one socio-cultural characteristic determines the attitudes of the teachers toward their role, but that it is a constellation of traits interacting within the particular ethnic group which appears to influence role orientation among members of that group. Perhaps in future studies it will be possible to "partial out" statistically the discrete effects of the various socio-cultural characteristics on the teachers' role orientation. The present research suggests that more than single characteristics, it is their interactions within the unique matrix of ethnicity which is to be understood if one is to account for the teacher's views and attitudes toward their occupation. Such factors as religion, education, and even socioeconomic status appear to become really meaningful influences only if viewed in the total ethnic context. Here this point is raised only as an indication of a fruitful line of research: an objective weighing of all socio-cultural factors in different ethnic groups needs yet to be done.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Problem

The general aim of this investigation has been to understand better the meaning that secondary teachers in an urban setting ascribe to their teaching role, and the classroom behavior they believe necessary to carry out this role. More specifically, the study explores the relationship between the teacher's early socio-cultural experiences and the teacher's attitude toward the occupational role.

While there is a general, normative definition of behavior for persons occupying the position of teacher, expectations of that role are in practice often diffuse and contradictory. The absence of a clearly defined behavioral pattern and authority structure for the teaching role permits many variations of behavior among persons performing the role.

The increased demand for teachers in recent years and the relative ease with which the teacher's education could be secured (beginning with the G. I. Bill) resulted in the recruitment of men and women from many racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups into the teaching profession. From these subcultural backgrounds they bring to the teaching role different orientations and differing perceptions of how to carry out this role.

These considerations suggest two major questions that are pertinent to the understanding of urban teachers:

1. Can we distinguish differential patterns of role orientation among teachers?
2. What are the effects of ethnic and other socio-cultural variables upon the role orientation of the teachers?

These two questions constitute the area of inquiry for this study. It is proposed here that systematic patterns of role orientation can be distinguished among teachers and that there is a relationship of socio-cultural differences to varying orientation to the teaching role.

Definition of Variables

Role orientation

The major dependent variable in this study is defined here as the set of attitudes toward specific characteristics of the teaching role, attitudes indicating major commitment to the work situation. Using Talcott Parsons' theoretical model for variations in role orientation, the following three dimensions were designated as areas in which role orientation is assumed to vary: (1) Teaching Motives: these include the rewards and goals to which the individual teachers aspire, and their involvement in the work role; (2) Teaching Standards: attitudes concerning the function of education, the king of product to be obtained, and reference group loyalties and allegiances within the work situation; (3) Teaching Performance: teacher-student relationships, effective teacher traits, student evaluation, type of student preferred and classroom discipline.

As a means of systematically ordering the data, three "ideal-typical" categories of role orientation were tentatively defined. These ideal-types were based upon what appeared to be the three most frequently occurring categories among the Chicago high school teachers, and designated in this study as Professional, Nurturant, and Instrumental. It was anticipated that these three ideal-typical categories of role orientation could be defined in the following manner:

Professional: Academically oriented with strong emphasis upon expertise in a body of specialized knowledge; reference group identification with professional principles; major concern with the cognitive domain of the work-role with emphasis upon intellectual training and competence. Belief that education is a "good" in and of itself.

Nurturant: Child-centered with "life adjustment" orientation; reference group identification with client being served, in this instance, "the student." Major concern with the effective or socio-emotional aspect of the work role (the total student). Believes that education should help individual development.

Instrumental: Utilitarian and organizational orientation; reference group identification with employer, in this instance, the school; use of education for material gain and social mobility, no major commitment to the concept of education.

Ethnicity

The major independent variable in this study is defined here in its broader sense to denote any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin. The term is used in this study as Oscar Handlin uses it to refer to a "group with a shared heritage" and that heritage is sometimes associated with "descent from common national and regional origins, sometimes with color, and sometimes with religion."

The influence of ethnic subcommunities upon its members is today being re-examined. Numerous studies have pointed to the fact that the cultural "melting pot" has not functioned as effectively as it was formerly believed. Among the subcultural attitudes engrained in many of the ethnic groups are markedly different orientations toward education. And since today's urban teaching force is drawn from a wide variety of backgrounds, it becomes useful to know to what extent does this heterogeneous teacher population manifest subcultural differences in their varying orientations to the teaching role.

Other socio-cultural variables

These are examined in addition to ethnic origins. For example, what is the relationship of sex role, religious and socioeconomic origins to the attitudes of the teachers toward their occupational role? Or, how does social mobility affect these attitudes? To what extent do urban/rural traditions determine a teacher's attitudes? Does level or type of education have a bearing on the teacher's role orientation? Does subject taught determine the role orientation of the teacher?

Methods and Sample

The problem was approached through an analysis of the attitudes and experiences of 106 Chicago high school teachers. Structured interviews were conducted with the teachers either at their home or school. An "Interview Guide" was used in order to obtain data which would allow for comparative analysis. The guide consisted of two major parts: Part I sought data concerning ethnic and other sociocultural characteristics; and Part II consisted of fourteen questions centered around the three dimensions upon which role orientation is assumed to rest: (1) Teaching Motives, (2) Teaching Standards, and (3) Teaching Performance.

Scoring and coding procedures

A code sheet was developed from the responses, listing all answers given to each of the fourteen questions. The various types of replies for each question ranged from four to twenty-two, depending upon the question or how the question was posed. This enlarged code sheet, which included all replies to each of the fourteen questions, was then systematically classified according to the criteria that had been tentatively established for the three "ideal-type" role-orientation categories: I. Professional, II. Nurturant, and III. Instrumental. Each reply was scored to fall in one of these three categories, except in a few cases, as explained below.

In most instances, the teachers made clear-cut choices. However, on several questions some of the respondents combined two of the categories in their replies. Therefore, it became necessary to establish a fourth role-orientation category which was designated as "Other." Included in this category were all responses that could not be placed in one of the three "ideal-type" orientation categories.

It was not anticipated that any one teacher would be so strongly identified with just one role that all of his answers would be scored in the same role-orientation category. However, it was anticipated that if a teacher's main approach to his work-role was along a particular orientation, we would find a clustering of answers around that particular category of response. If the responses of a teacher to the fourteen questions used to determine role orientation could be scored in the same category at least half of the time, i.e., seven or more answers fell into one of the three ideal-typical role-orientation categories, the teacher was then assumed to orient primarily to that particular role. The reliability of this coding procedure was tested by having an independent reader score ten interviews which had been chosen at random. The reader was also requested to evaluate the distribution of replies into role-orientation categories as defined in this study. The agreement in coding the answers by the two raters was 90 per cent.

General characteristics of the sample

The sample consisted of 106 regularly assigned high school teachers from the Chicago school system who had taught less than fifteen years and more than one year. The sample was neither random nor representative but was obtained through the recommendations of other teachers. Starting with just a few names, the author requested each teacher to suggest new names at the end of the interview. In an effort to broaden the base of the sample, the teachers were encouraged to suggest teachers in ethnic groups other than their own.

Since ethnicity was to be the major independent variable, a balance was maintained among the five ethnic groups included in this study, i.e., Irish, Polish, Italian, Negro and Jewish. Teachers from a mixed ethnic background without a dominant identification, or from ethnic groups not included in the study were placed in a category designated as "Other." This category constituted 10 per cent of the sample.

Of the 106 teachers interviewed, 51 per cent were male and 49 per cent were female. The Catholic teachers constituted 54 per cent of the sample, the balance were Jewish and Protestant. The majority of Protestants were Negroes, therefore religion could not be utilized as a meaningful variable in comparing the three religious groups. However, since the Catholics constituted more than half of the sample, comparisons were made between the three Catholic groups.

Half of the teachers interviewed for this study were children of foreign-born parents, the balance were progeny of native-born parents. Since the parents of half of the teachers were foreign-born it was not possible to evaluate parental education meaningfully. Therefore, father's or guardian's occupation became the only means of determining the teacher's early socioeconomic level. Approximately 66 per cent of the teachers came from the lower-middle and upper-lower social class backgrounds. This was generally consistent with the socioeconomic background of high school teachers listed in the Havighurst Chicago school survey.

Generational mobility was measured by comparing the father's or guardian's occupation at the time that the teacher was growing up, with his present socioeconomic status--ranked in the present study as middle-middle. According to this criterion 76 per cent had been upward mobile.

More than half of the teachers had received M.A. degrees, and some had gone on to further graduate work. The majority had received secondary education in public high schools; however, 33 per cent of the sample were graduates of parochial schools.

It is the attitudes of the younger teachers that are reflected in this study, since 64 per cent had been teaching five years or less. They came from twenty-six Chicago high schools from all parts of the city. The majority taught English, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Biological and Physical Sciences.

Summary of Findings

Identification with primary role

The first question that this study attempted to answer could be phrased as: "Are there different patterns of role orientation among urban high school teachers?" Although no teacher was expected to be so strongly identified with any one role that all of his answers would be scored in the same orientation category, it was expected that if the teacher approached his work-role with a consistent set of attitudes, one would find a clustering of answers around a particular category. Therefore, when a teacher answered seven or more of the fourteen questions in the same category, the teacher was assumed to be primarily oriented towards that particular role.

The findings indicate that there is indeed a tendency on the part of the teachers to identify primarily with only one of the tentatively-defined role orientations. Eighty-two per cent of the teachers responded seven or more times in just one role-orientation category. A few of them replied to as many as twelve and thirteen questions in the same role-orientation category.

Most of the teachers' responses divided rather evenly into only two categories: Professional and Nurturant. Very few oriented primarily to the Instrumental role. Perhaps the reason so few of the teachers chose the Instrumental category could be attributed to the method of sampling. Since this category reflects the attitude of a person uncommitted to the accepted values of the teaching role, it is possible that such a teacher would not have been recommended for interviewing by his peers. Another possible explanation, however, could be that despite a teacher's primary Instrumental identification, some commitment along Professional or Nurturant lines must be made when facing the classroom. Thus a weak commitment may manifest itself in a relatively inconsistent pattern of responses, a lack of a clear pattern which was found among 18 per cent of this sample.

Although it is recognized that the method of determining role orientation patterns in this study is by no means a rigorous one, such a tabulation does reflect the teachers' primary role orientation. Therefore, it can be said that for purposes of this study and within the limitations of the analysis employed that the first question of our inquiry can be answered in the affirmative. The majority of the teachers sampled in the study were found in either one of two tentatively-defined role-orientation categories: Professional or Nurturant.

Relationship of ethnicity to role orientation

The second question to which this study was addressed concerns the relationship of ethnicity to variations in role orientation among the teachers. Three approaches were taken in an attempt to gather answers to this question.

First, in an effort to determine whether the responses to the fourteen questions by which role orientation was measured tend to be more homogeneous within an ethnic group than between ethnic groups, mean scores were computed for the number of replies given in the three role-orientation categories by each of the ethnic groups. An analysis of variance was then performed on these data to determine whether the variance in responses across categories was significantly larger between ethnic groups than within ethnic groups. The analysis of variance was here used only as a general indicator for the relevance of ethnicity as an independent variable.

The findings indicated that membership in a given ethnic group is significantly related to the Professional orientation at the .001 level and to the Instrumental orientation at the .01 level. Variations in the Nurturant responses within each ethnic group, however, were apparently too large to allow for a significant relationship between groups to appear. Later analysis may offer some explanation for this phenomenon.

The analysis of variance gave the first indication that a pattern of differential role orientations among the ethnic groups did in fact exist. In response to the fourteen questions, the Jewish and Irish teachers ranked highest in the Professional category while the Italian and Negro teachers scored primarily in the Nurturant category. The mean scores of the Polish group were divided evenly between the Professional and Nurturant categories. While none of the groups had a primary orientation in the Instrumental category, the Negro group ranked highest in this category.

Another method of determining the existence of differential inter-ethnic primary role-orientation patterns was by tabulating the frequency of teachers in the various ethnic groups who identify primarily with one of the three role-orientation categories (i.e., teachers who selected seven or more of the fourteen questions in a given role-orientation category). The findings confirmed the pattern indicated by the analysis of variance. The modal role orientation among Jewish and Irish teachers was in the Professional category. The high-incidence of primary role orientation among Italian and Negro teachers appeared in the Nurturant category, although the Negro group had a larger number of teachers in the Instrumental category than any of the other ethnic groups. The Polish teachers indicated a slightly stronger primary orientation in the Professional category, but many of their group were in the Nurturant category.

Patterns of variations within dimension of role orientation

In order to determine in which specific areas of role orientation the greatest differences between ethnic groups did appear, a thematic analysis was made by cross tabulations for all of the fourteen questions. The questions were grouped according to the three dimensions on which role orientation was assumed to vary: (1) Teaching Motivations, (2) Teaching Standards, and (3) Teaching Performance. Each dimension was further divided into relevant subdivisions. Chi square tests were computed for each of the fourteen questions to determine whether the groups differed significantly from what could be expected by chance in their patterns of response. A probability value of .05 or less was considered statistically significant.

1. Teaching Motivations.--The findings revealed that the dif-

ferences were more significant in some dimensions of role orientation than in others. The area in which ethnic origin appears to have the most significant effect was that of motivations. On this dimension, sharp differences in the pattern of responses between the various ethnic groups were found. Irish and Jewish teachers expressed strong academic and professional motivations. Negro and Italian teachers, although not evidencing such a consistent motivation pattern as did the former two ethnic groups, had a modal orientation in the *Instrumental* category, i.e., they hoped to pursue administrative jobs or "anything that paid more money." Polish teachers revealed a rather inconsistent pattern of responses in this area. The majority in the Polish group claimed to have come into teaching for Professional reasons, but then expressed the belief that their teaching rewards came through helping people--the *Nurturant* category; they also responded to future occupational goals in the *Nurturant* category, while expressing the opinion that if given additional free time at school they would pursue professional activities.

2. *Teaching Standards*.--The differences within this dimension were not as statistically significant as within the dimension of motivation. The one area in which marked inter-ethnic differences were indicated was in occupational reference-group identifications. Irish and Jewish teachers expressed preferences for professional or "self" principled reference identification; Italian, Negro and Polish teachers chose the student as their reference identification. None of the groups chose the "school" or administration--the *Instrumental* category --as their main reference group. With the exception of the Jewish

teachers none of the ethnic groups revealed a clear pattern on the question of the function and role of the high school. Jewish teachers had a modal orientation in the Professional category, expressing the belief that providing a good academic education was the primary function of the high school. The responses of all other ethnic groups were more or less evenly distributed over the four categories.

3. Teaching Performance.--Responses falling within the third dimension of role orientation--Teaching Performance--indicated greater differences than Teaching Standards, but less than Teaching Motivations. The sharpest inter-ethnic differences were evidenced when the teachers were asked what they believed to be the most important trait of an effective teacher; and the kind of student they preferred to teach. On both of these questions the Irish and Jewish groups responded in the Professional category. Irish teachers in particular were overwhelming in their expressions that an effective teacher must first have a knowledge of his subject matter. Both groups were strong in their preference for teaching "bright" and "gifted" students. Negro and Italian teachers, on the other hand, expressed the belief that achieving teacher-student rapport was the most important trait for the effective teacher (that is, the Nurturant category); and both groups claimed to prefer teaching "average" students (the Instrumental category). Polish teachers were again inconsistent on these two questions: choosing teacher-student rapport (in the Nurturant category) for effective teacher trait; and a preference for the "gifted" student (in the Professional category). On only two questions did all of the ethnic groups have a modal orientation in the same category. When asked what

kind of student should be produced by the high schools, the teachers overwhelmingly replied: "Socially-adjusted" (Nurturant category). A similar consensus was obtained when the teachers were asked about evaluation of the classroom work of students. Again the majority of teachers in all ethnic groups chose the Nurturant category, expressing the belief that evaluation should take place on the basis of individual growth and development. Altogether, on seven of the fourteen questions there were statistically significant differences associated with ethnic origins.

In summary, the findings indicated that a relationship between ethnic group identification and a pattern of role orientation did appear to exist; thus our second research question can also be answered in the affirmative. With some ethnic groups the pattern of role orientation was more sharply defined than with others. For example, Jewish and Irish teachers were quite marked in the Professional orientation. Italian and Negro teachers primarily oriented toward the Nurturant category, but their responses were often found in the Instrumental category. The Polish teachers presented a more unique pattern, constantly shifting from the Professional to the Nurturant orientation.

Variations appear to exist when one examines the relationship between membership in an ethnic group and the various dimensions of role orientation. A statistically significant relationship was found, for instance, between ethnicity and all of the questions centered around motivations and goals. In contrast, within the dimension of teaching standards, only the questions seeking reference group identifications brought responses indicating significant inter-ethnic variations. The third dimension of role orientation, teaching performance, revealed statistically significant ethnic differences in the responses of the teachers to the questions about the most important trait of an effective teacher, and the type of student they preferred to teach.

Relationship of early origin variables to role orientation

The main problem faced in this study was to determine if teachers in the Chicago high schools would display specific attitudes toward their occupational roles and whether such attitudes would vary depending upon the ethnic origins of the teachers. As a result of the above analysis affirmative answers were tentatively given to both these questions.

Since the attitudes of the teachers toward the occupational role appears to be a function, at least in part, of early socialization experiences, certain socio-cultural characteristics were then examined in an effort to determine if specific types of experiences encourage a particular role orientation. The background variables that seemed to offer the greatest possibility were the following: sex role, religious and socioeconomic origins, social mobility, level and type of education, subject taught, and urban/rural traditions. Each of these characteristics was examined independently in an effort to determine whether the particular variable was significantly related to the teachers' attitude toward the occupational role. In addition, all of these characteristics were examined as intervening variables within the ethnic matrix.

Sex role.--The first variable to be considered was the sex role of the teachers. Early sex role training emphasizes autonomy and competence for boys and "helping others" for girls. The American culture encourages the nurturant aspect of the feminine role, intellectual pursuits for women being rarely encouraged or rewarded. Therefore one would anticipate males orienting toward the Professional and Instrumental role-orientation categories, and females toward the Nurturant category.

Since few of the respondents were rated in the Instrumental category, only two role-orientation categories were contrasted: Professional and Nurturant. When the male and female teachers were compared in the above two role-orientation categories, a significant relationship at the .025 level did appear to exist, confirming expectations--that is, relatively more male than female teachers were found in the Professional category. However, upon examining the relationship between sex role and occupational role orientation within the ethnic context, differences were found in only two of the ethnic groups, the Irish and Jewish. Relationship between sex and the "appropriate" occupational role does not appear to exist within the other ethnic groups.

Upon analyzing the relationship between sex role and occupational role orientation on the fourteen questions used to determine role orientation, only one question revealed a difference on the basis of sex. In responding to the question of future occupational goals, males leaned towards the Professional and Instrumental choices, while females expressed occupational goals in the Nurturant category.

Although a difference between the occupational role orientation of the sexes does appear to exist when the Professional and Nurturant role-orientation categories are contrasted, on further analysis one finds that such differences can be attributed to only two ethnic groups, Irish and Jewish. With the exception of future occupational goals, none of the other attitudinal areas used to determine role orientation suggested a difference on the basis of sex.

Socioeconomic origins.--The next variable to be considered was the teachers' socioeconomic origin. It had been anticipated that teachers from middle-class backgrounds would tend to orient toward the Professional category; and teachers from lower-class strata would orient toward the Instrumental category. Our findings in this sample do not support this hypothesis. One finds a Professional orientation in ethnic groups whose members are predominantly from the lower class (e.g., the Jewish teachers and to a lesser degree the Polish teachers), and Nurturant orientation in ethnic groups whose members are primarily from the middle class (e.g., the Negro teachers).

In analyzing the direct relationship between socioeconomic origins and role orientation, i.e., by contrasting respondents from middle-class origins who chose seven or more of the questions in the Professional or Nurturant categories with those who chose these categories and were from lower-class origins, the same absence of statistically significant differences were noted. On the basis of these data, therefore, it is doubtful whether there is a direct relationship between socioeconomic status origins and role orientation.

What might make a difference, however, is the particular ethnic group's access to middle-class occupations. Those ethnic groups with fewer occupational opportunities available to them, either for socioeconomic or racial reasons, choose teaching for lack of any other alternative rather than a definite commitment to education. This would include the Negro and Italian groups. Although these two groups indicated a primary Nurturant role orientation, their responses were often found in the Instrumental (uncommitted) role-orientation category.

Intergenerational mobility.--Given the uniformly high incidence of upward mobility in all of the ethnic groups (76 per cent) the possible effects of mobility could not be observed.

In an effort to determine whether a direct relationship exists between social mobility and role orientation, the two dominant orientations, Professional and Nurturant, were contrasted. A statistical difference does not appear between the attitudes toward the teaching job among the upward mobile individuals as opposed to the teachers who had moved downward or not at all. However, a certain trend, although not significant, was indicated. The upward mobile teachers tend to be relatively more often in the Professional category than the downward and stationary teachers. If the sample had included more individuals in the downward mobile group, it is possible that the differences would have attained significance.

Education.--More than half of the teachers in this sample had received their M.A. degree. The various ethnic groups differed in the level of education. But it was found that level of education does not necessarily determine the teachers' orientation toward the occupational role. The Irish group, with only 35 per cent holding M.A. degrees, was strongly professionally oriented; while the Italians, with over 60 per cent holding M.A. degrees, primarily oriented toward the *Nurturant* category.

In contrasting the role orientations of teachers who had achieved an M.A. with those who had received a B.A. degree, significant differences were not found. These data suggest that level of education does not have a direct relationship to role orientation.

It was found, however, that *type* of education suggested greater possibilities of affecting role orientation than *level* of education, particularly among the Catholic groups. Those educated in parochial secondary schools had a stronger *Professional* orientation. The ethnic groups with the highest proportion of teachers who had attended Catholic parochial institutions (Irish) ranked highest in the *Professional* category.

In checking further to determine whether a direct relationship does in fact exist between parochial school education and a *Professional* orientation for Catholics, a significant relationship at the .05 level was found, in the direction indicated.

Other aspects related to type of education also appeared to suggest some relationship with role orientation. For example, a large percentage of the Negroes had received their entire education in the South. Negro teachers were primarily oriented toward the *Nurturant* category, with strong overtones of *an Instrumental* orientation. In contrast, all of the Jewish teachers had received a liberal arts education in the North and this group was strongest in the *Professional* orientation. Although we have no specific data to support a claim for a relationship between these two different types of educational experience and the teachers' attitude, the trend can be mentioned as a possible lead for further research.

Subject taught.--When the role orientations of teachers in the three major areas of subject-matter (humanities, social studies, math/sciences) are contrasted, no significant difference is found. The data suggest, however, a slight difference in role orientation between teachers of social studies as contrasted with teachers in other areas of subject matter.

Cross-tabulation of the responses to each of the fourteen questions did not indicate a significant relationship between subject matter and role orientation. The question concerning future goals, although not significant, did suggest a trend on the part of English teachers to choose goals in the Nurturant orientation.

The findings in this sample suggest that role orientation is more a function of membership in an ethnic group rather than subject taught. The choice of subject to be taught may itself be affected by the teachers' ethnic origins.

Religion.--It was not possible to make a meaningful comparison between the three religious groups represented here: Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, because Negro teachers were the only Protestants included in the study. However, since the Catholic groups constituted more than half of the total sample, it was possible to make comparisons among the three Catholic groups: Irish, Polish, and Italian.

As far as our data explored this problem, it would appear that among the Catholic teachers religion per se does not have a direct relationship to role orientation. Each of the Catholic groups presented a different primary role orientation in this study. The Irish were strongly Professional; the Italians primarily Nurturant; and the Polish vacillated between these two categories, although they were slightly stronger in the Professional orientation.

Our data would seem to support recent claims to the effect that ethnicity is still a factor to be considered in the study of American Catholics. It is not possible to combine Irish, Polish and Italian Catholics into one category on the basis of their common religion. Other historical and cultural differences cannot be ignored.

Urban/rural traditions (generation American).--The findings confirmed the observations made in numerous studies quoted in this paper, to the effect that ethnic groups with urban traditions place a higher value upon academic excellence and intellectual pursuits. This study suggests that teachers who are members of ethnic groups with urban traditions would more likely be professionally oriented. The Irish and Polish groups were largely third generation American and both oriented primarily to a Professional category, although the Polish to a lesser degree than the Irish. The majority of the Italian teachers were second generation Americans, and their primary orientation was Nurturant. A simple measurement of length of residence in America, however, is not sufficient. While this criterion could be used for the three Catholic groups who were descendants of European peasantry, it was not valid for the other ethnic groups, namely, the Jewish and Negro teachers. The Jewish teachers, although predominantly second generation, oriented primarily toward the Professional category. Numerous studies have pointed out that the Jewish immigrants came from towns or cities, and brought with them urban traditions and modes of living. The Negro teachers, who were primarily oriented toward the Nurturant category, were largely descendants of Southern-born parents who had not been acculturated to Northern urban traditions. Here again one finds historical and cultural differences influencing attitudes toward the occupational role.

Ethnic identification and traditions.--Each of the ethnic groups displayed certain unique chracteristics which appeared to be contributing factors to their teaching role orientations. The relationship of the Irish to the Catholic Church appears to encourage a tradition of Catholic education for their youth. "Parochial discipline" encourages traits that are defined in this study as Professional. This may possibly explain the more general trend of answers given in the Professional category by the Irish teachers. The Italian "urban village" communities, with their strong family ties could help to explain the Nurturant orientation found among the majority of the Italian teachers. The Jewish "passion for education" offers an explanation for the strong Professional orientation found among the Jewish teachers. The culturally depressed position of the Negro in America, plus the disorganization of Negro family life encourages a Nurturant orientation with emphasis upon the individual rather than upon academic achievement.

In summary, it is suggested here that no single subcultural characteristic determines the attitudes of teachers toward their teaching role, but that it is a constellation of traits interacting within the particular ethnic context which appears to influence such attitudes. Perhaps in future studies it will be possible to "partial out" statistically the discrete effects of the various subcultural characteristics upon the teachers' role orientation. The present research suggests that more than single characteristics, it is their interactions within the unique matrix of ethnicity which is to be understood if one is to account for the teachers' views and attitudes toward their occupational role. Such factors as sex, religion, education, subject taught and even socioeconomic status appear to become really meaningful influences only if viewed in the total ethnic context. Here this point is raised only as an indication of a fruitful line of research. An objective weighing of all socio-cultural factors in different ethnic groups needs yet to be done.

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of the present inquiry was to focus attention upon a problematic area that is becoming important in its theoretical implications--the classification of attitudes held by teachers in respect to their occupational role, and the effects of ethnic factors on such attitudes.

The limited sample and the sampling procedure used in this study do not allow one to make clear-cut conclusions or generalizations that could be applied to most teachers. On the other hand, the individual and lengthy interviews with the teachers permitted the observation of trends in attitudes and beliefs which a more structured and quantifiable questionnaire would have missed. Taking into consideration both the limitations and advantages of this study, its goal can be seen as that of facilitating future research dealing with the assessment of teachers' role orientations, and expanding existing frames of reference for viewing attitudes without our pluralistic society.

At the beginning of this study, it had been hypothesized--and this hypothesis was based on long familiarity and experience with the teaching situation--that a viable typology for describing teachers' occupational orientation would include three types of attitudes: Professional, Nurturant, and Instrumental. While this initial typology had been kept flexible so as to accommodate other types of attitudes which had not been anticipated, the results suggest that rather than being too narrow, the three-fold classification was in fact, too extensive. It became apparent in the process of the study that for the majority of teachers only two distinct attitudes could be distinguished. Very few teachers were primarily oriented to the Instrumental category. Perhaps the method of sampling could account for so few of the teachers orienting toward this last category. Since this category reflects the attitudes of teachers who are not committed to the teaching role, it is possible that their colleagues would hesitate to recommend them and one would find a greater percentage in the Instrumental category within the total population of Chicago public high school teachers. However, there is also the possibility that despite a teacher's detachment some teaching commitment must be made either on the Professional or Nurturant dimension when facing the classroom. But in this discussion we will mainly concern ourselves with the two dominant role orientations observed, i.e., Professional and Nurturant.

It must be made clear at this point that throughout this study no effort was made to place differential values on the various orientations, nor was there an attempt to determine which orientation was the most "effective" in the urban classroom. It would be difficult today to find agreement on what is meant by classroom "effectiveness."

The polarization in role orientation displayed by the teachers sampled here may be reflecting the dual functions demanded of our educational system today, i.e., the need to meet the high standards of intellectual skills necessary for an advance technological society; while at the same time helping the culturally-disadvantaged child achieve a level of competence that will allow him to compete and participate in such a society.

The pervasive pattern found in this investigation has been that teachers from more highly urbanized ethnic groups chose to emphasize competence and intellectual skills, while those from ethnic groups still in the process of finding their place in the mainstream of American life stressed the need to develop the individual student. Such a sharp dichotomy in attitudes focuses attention upon the need of our education system to fulfill both functions of excellence and equality.

If our educational system is to successfully achieve the transition from "elite" to "mass" education on the high "achievement of excellent" level necessary for today's complex society, it will require the full understanding and cooperation of the classroom teachers. There will be a need for many diverse skills among the teachers. Under certain conditions, some teachers may perform their role better than others. Knowledge of a teacher's role conception may provide a clue as to where the teacher might be most effective.

But before we can make the best use of our human resources, we need to know much more about them. As possibilities for further studies in this direction, it is suggested that refinements in the measurement of role orientation could be made and such improved instruments be submitted to larger groups of teachers, possibly including other ethnic groups in various communities.

The data of this study, although limited, give evidence that ethnicity is a pervasive factor in determining the attitude with which teachers approach their role. More research is needed, however, to establish clearly what variables in the early ethnic background influence role orientation.

If our society is in fact a pluralistic society, perhaps we must develop new methods for viewing the behavior of its members. Although it is possible that future studies will succeed in establishing effects of discrete subcultural variables upon the teaching role, this study suggests that viewing an individual as a member of a social class or religious group does not give us an adequate explanation of his behavior, unless these variables are viewed in their total ethnic matrix.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEES

INTERVIEW GUIDE

OCCUPATIONAL INDEX

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEES

1. Male, English and German ethnic group (other), age 26-30, single, parochial school education, 4 years teaching experience, B.A. plus. Teaches social studies, upper-lower class socioeconomic position, third-generation American, little ethnic identification. Protestant.

2. Male, Irish, 26-30 years of age, married, three children, 2-5 years teaching experience, M.A., parochial education, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower social class position, second-generation American, moderate present ethnic identification. Catholic.

3. Male, Jewish, 41-50, married, 2 children, 11-13 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches math, upper-lower social class position, first-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

4. Negro, male, 31_40, married, no children, 11-13 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. teaches commercial bookkeeping. Protestant.

5. Jewish, female, 20-25, less than 2 years teaching experience, married, no children, public high school education, B.A., teaches history and social studies, middle-middle social class origin, low ethnic identification.

6. Female, Russian descent (other), 26-30, married, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public school education, M.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, no information re ethnic identification. Catholic.

7. Negro, male, 31-40, divorced, two children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin. Protestant

8. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, one child, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Jewish, first-generation American, high ethnic identification.

9. Jewish, female, 20-25, married, one child, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches biology, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Jewish, second-generation American, low ethnic identification.

10. Male, German (other), 31-40, married, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches industrial arts, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant, first-generation American, no information re ethnic identification.

11. Negro, female, 26-30, divorced, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin. Protestant.

12. Italian, male, 20-25, single, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

13. Polish, male, 31-40, single, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches biology, upper-lower socio-economic origin, Catholic, first-generation American, high ethnic identification.

14. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Jewish, first-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

15. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Jewish, first-generation American, high ethnic identification.

16. English (other), male, 41-50, divorced, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches history and social studies, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant, third-generation American, no ethnic identification.

17. Italian, male, 41-50, married, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches chemistry and physics, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, first-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

18. Negro, female, 26-30, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

19. Negro, female, 26-30, married, one child, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches English, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

20. Negro, male, 2_25, married, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

21. Negro, female, 20-25, married, no children, less than 2 years teaching experience, private non-sectarian high school education, B.A. plus, teaches biology, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

22. Jewish, male, 41-50, married, three children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

23. Greek (other), female, 20-25, single, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches math, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Greek-Orthodox, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

24. Irish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

25. Polish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A. plus, teaches biology, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

26. German and French (other), female, 26-30, single, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, no ethnic identification.

27. Italian, female, 31-40, single, no children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education (now teaches at same high school), M.A. plus, teaches biology, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

28. Jewish, male, 41-50, married, two children, 11-13 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, first-generation American, high ethnic identification.

29. Irish, female, 41-50, married, two children, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

30. Polish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, high ethnic identification.

31. Polish, female, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education (teaches at same high school), M.A. plus, teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

32. Negro, female, 26-30, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

33. Irish, female, 41-50, married, three children, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches chemistry and physics, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

34. Polish, female, 31-40, married, two children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education (teaches at same high school), M.A. plus, teaches English, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low-moderate ethnic identification.

35. Jewish, female, 26-30, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

36. Irish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low-ethnic identification.

37. Negro, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

38. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, one child, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches biology, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

39. Irish, female, 20-25, single, no children, less than 5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

40. Negro, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. teaches English, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

41. Greek (other), male, 31-40, married, two children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education (teaches at same high school), M.A., teaches history and social studies, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Greek-Orthodox, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

42. Negro, male, 20-25 years, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

43. Italian, male, 26-30, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial school education, B.A., teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

44. Negro, male, 20-25, married, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches math, middle-middle socioeconomic origin.

45. Italian, male, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches chemistry and physics, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, high ethnic identification.

46. Polish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

47. Negro, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

48. Irish, female, 26-30, married, three children, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

49. Polish, female, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A. (parochial), teaches history and social studies, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

50. Irish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

51. Irish, male, 26-30, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

52. Italian, female, 20-25, married, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin (mother), Catholic, second-generation American, low ethnic identification.

53. Negro, female, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin (mother), Catholic.

54. Irish, female, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

55. Czechoslovakian (other), female, 41-50, married, three children, 2-5 years teaching experience, other high school education (European), M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, first-generation American (foreign-born), low ethnic identification, Protestant.

56. Italian, female, 31-40, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

57. Italian, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches biology, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

58. Italian, female, 41-50, married, one child, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches chemistry and physics, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, low ethnic identification.

59. Greek (other), male, 31-40, married, two children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches language, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Greek-Orthocox, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

60. Jewish, female, 31-40, married, two children, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

61. Irish, female, 26-30, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., chemistry and physics, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

62. Irish, female, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

63. Polish, female, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, high ethnic identification.

64. Polish, male, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

65. Italian, male, 26-30, married, one child, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

66. Negro, male, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

67. Italian, female, 20-25, married, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education (teaches at same high school), M.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

68. Irish, male, 31-40, married, three children, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, high ethnic identification.

69. Irish, male, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches English, lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

70. Italian, male, 26_30, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches languages, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

71. Negro, male, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches math, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

72. Italian, male, 31-40, married, three children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches languages, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

73. Irish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Protestant, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

74. Negro, male, 31-40, married, one child, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches math, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

75. Jewish, female, 31-40, married, one child, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

76. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, one-child, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

77. Polish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low ethnic identification.

78. Polish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

79. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Jewish, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

80. Italian, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A. teaches languages, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, low-ethnic identification.

81. Polish, female, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, high ethnic identification.

82. Polish, female, 20-25, married, no children, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A., teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

83. Irish, male, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

84. Irish, male, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches English, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, fourth-generation American, low ethnic identification.

85. Czechoslovakian (other), male, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching

experience, non-sectarian private high school education, M.A., teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, religion: none, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

86. Irish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches English, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, low ethnic identification.

87. Polish, male, 31-40, married, two children, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, first-generation American, high ethnic identification.

88. Italian, female, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education (teaches at same high school), M.A. plus, teaches biology, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

89. Yugoslavian (other) female, 31-40, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial school education, M.A. plus, teaches languages, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, first-generation American, high ethnic identification.

90. Italian, male, 26-30, married, one child, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches biology, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

91. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, three children, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic position, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

92. Negro, male, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches art, lower-middle socioeconomic origin.

93. Irish, male, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, no ethnic identification.

94. Jewish, male, 31-40, married, three children, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

95. Jewish, female, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public school education, M.A. plus, teaches biology, upper-lower

socioeconomic origin, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

96. Italian, male, 31-40, married, 6-10 years teaching experience, two children, public high school education, M.A., teaches chemistry and physics, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

97. Jewish, female, 20-25, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches English, middle-middle socioeconomic origin, third-generation American, high ethnic identification.

98. Italian, male, 26-30, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education (teaches at same school), B.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

99. Polish, female, 31-40, Married, one child, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A. plus, teaches English, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, low ethnic identification.

100. Hungarian (other), female, 20-25, married, one child, less than 2 years teaching experience, M.A. plus, teaches English, public high school education, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, first-generation American (foreign-born), moderate ethnic identification.

101. Polish, male, 31-40, single, 6-10 years teaching experience, public high school education, M.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

102. Negro, male, 31-40, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A. plus, teaches history and social studies, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

103. Polish, male, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches math, upper-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

104. Irish, male, 26-30, single, 2-5 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, B.A. plus, teaches English, lower-middle socioeconomic origin, Catholic, third-generation American, moderate ethnic identification.

105. Negro, female, 31-40, married, two children, less than 2 years teaching experience, public high school education, B.A., teaches

chemistry and general science, upper-middle socioeconomic origin, Protestant.

106. Italian, female, 20-25, single, less than 2 years teaching experience, parochial high school education, M.A., teaches English, middle-lower socioeconomic origin, Catholic, second-generation American, high ethnic identification.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Part I

Sex
Age
Other employment

Education:
High school
BA-BS Where
MA-MS Where
Beyond
Now

Subject Where Years of teaching experience

Marital status Children Occupation of spouse
Birthplace Size of town How long in Chicago area
Birthplace of father mother
Original nationality of family on father's side
mother's side
Were any grandparents born in the U.S.

What language was spoken in the home while growing-up
Father's usual occupation while growing-up Union member
Was mother employed
Father's education Mother's education
Closest friends of parents while growing-up
In what groups or organizations did they have their closest ties
What did they do for recreation
Who comprised the family while growing up

Religious preference Protestant (denom.) Catholic Jewish None
Conserv.
Orthodox
Reformed
What (church, synagogue, temple) attended
How long going there
Take part in any of the activities or organization other than services
Attend religious services more often, less often or about the same as 5-10 years ago
If change - why
How often attend religious services
Was father, at your age, more, less or about the same as religious as you

Proportion of relatives of your religious faith
Proportion of friends of your religious faith
Proportion of friends of your ethnic group
Proportion of friends who are teachers

As a general rule do you think it is wiser to marry inside your religious group
Why

As a general rule do you think it is wiser to marry inside your ethnic group
Why
With what group do you have your closest ties
With what group do you spend more of your leisure time

Social class position - Family while growing-up
Self - now
Reasons

Part II

Any relatives school teachers
At what period decided to become a teacher
Reaction of parents to this decision
Why decided to become a teacher

A. Teaching Motives
    (1. rewards)
    (2. goals)

What aspect of your teaching job gives you the greatest satisfaction?
Why?

What particular part of your teaching job do you enjoy the most?
Why?

If you get the opportunities you would like, what do you expect to be doing 5-10 years from now?

If you were given three extra hours free per week at school what would you do with them?

B. Teaching Standards
    (1. Normative reference group--administration-student-professional group)
    (2. Function and product of education)

The teacher owes his first loyalty to whom?

In your classroom performance whose approval do you believe is the most important?

What would be your reaction if your Principal requested that you "pass" a particular student, regardless of whether he deserved it?
Why?

What do you believe is the major function or job of the high school in the city of Chicago?

What do you believe a student should "get out" of high school?
What kind of student do you believe should be produced by Chicago high schools?

What area do you believe should be emphasized the most? (card)
To value education for own sake
To develop the individual's talents and abilities
The learning of a specific skill

C. Teacher Performance
(1. Student evaluation)
(2 Effective teacher traits)
(3. Teacher-student relationships)
(4. Classroom discipline)

How should students work be evaluated?

Should standards be on a national basis; individual student achievement or according to classroom curve?

Have you had any difficulty with the 6 per cent failure edict?

What do you believe to be the most important trait of an effective teacher?
Why?

What should be the relationship of the teacher to the student?

What kind of student would you prefer to teach? (card)
highly competitive--striving for high grades
one who follows instructions
under-achievers with great need for individual instruction

What do you believe the most important ingredient for good classroom discipline?

Who should be responsible for classroom discipline?

OCCUPATIONAL INDEX (Father or Guardian)[1]

Social Class	White	Negro[2]
1. Upper-middle	Physician, attorney, civil engineer, president (family business--$25,000)	Dentist
2. Middle-middle	Small business ($7,500-$25,000) tavern owner, custom drapery wholesale business, self-employed salesman, beer distributor	
	Professional forester, comptroller, bank teller, junior executive Sears Roebuck, superintendent Cook County jail, dentist, cantor	government clerk mail carrier mortician (not self-employed) minister
3. Lower-middle	Small business (less than $7,500) restaurant, gas station, carpenter and contractor, tailor shop, heating business	
	Supervisory-clerical foreman, phone company, RR purchasing agent, inventory stock clerk, secretary, bookkeeper, clerical, journey-man printer, mechanical engineer, elementary school teacher, sausage salesman, horse trainer	chauffeur truck driver carpenter clerk, rural elementary school teacher
4. Upper-lower	Skilled labor (not self-employed) drivers: CTA, bakery, truck, millinery and garment workers, furriers, tailors (not self-employed, auto plant mechanic, steelworker, pipefitter, plasterer, carpenter barrel maker, brick layer, pressman, cabinet maker, furniture upholsterer, gas company repairman	semiskilled and skilled factory worker
5. Middle-lower	Semi-skilled labor fruit and vegetable peddler, newspaper stand, semi-skilled factory, janitor, coal miner	unskilled workers small Southern farmer (share-cropper

OCCUPATIONAL INDEX--Continued

Social Class	White	Negro
6. Lower-lower	unskilled migratory worker unemployed - relief	unemployed relief

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[1] Occupational index was adapted from the "Warner Scale for Rating Occupation." Warner *et al*., *op. cit*., pp. 140-41.

[2] The general socioeconomic class division within American society must be viewed differently when considering the Negro.

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